WOMEN'S EVERYDAY RESISTANCE: SPACE, AFFECT AND HEALING

by

SARAH DAY

submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

PSYCHOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR MOHAMED SEEDAT

CO-SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR SHAHNAAZ SUFFLA

January 2021

DECLARATION

Name: Sarah Day

Student number: 53178610

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

Women's Everyday Resistance: Space, Affect and Healing

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

_____ 3 June 2021

SIGNATURE DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the participants of this study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the people and institutions who walked this path with me.

To the participants of this study: Thank you for allowing me into your lives, homes, and community for such an extended period of time. We have shared joy, pain, love, disagreements, connection, distance, and closeness. Thank you for your open and generous engagement with me. Our encounters have transformed me, challenged me, and inspired me, and will forever inform both my professional and personal movement in the world.

To my supervisors, Professor Mohamed Seedat and Professor Shahnaaz Suffla. Mohamed, thank you for enduring all of my stubbornness. I will always miss my frequent walks down the corridors to have a conversation with you. Thank you for your insights, gentle guidance, sense of humour, mentorship, and intellectual challenges. You have not only guided my PhD process, but also my early career as an activist scholar and personal politics. Shahnaaz, thank you for the pizza, chocolates, and sense of comradery you offered throughout this process. Thank you for the hours of fine combing my work, inspiring me and challenging me to always elevate my writing and critical thinking. Your joy, intellect, guidance, and humility have had the most profound impact on me. To both of my supervisors: if I become half the scholar you both are, then I will be happy. Your impact in my life and career will be felt always. It is a privilege to know and work with you.

Thank you to the University of South Africa for its postgraduate research support.

To the University of South Africa's Institute for Social and Health Sciences and the South African Medical Research Council's Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit and the people,

past and present, who have occupied those spaces with me. To Mildred, Tumi, Anthony, Jemina, and Mum D, thank you for holding the office together and bringing joy to the space on a day-to-day basis. Thank you to Dr Lu-Anne Swart for your guidance, laughter, and friendship throughout my time at the ISHS. Thank you to Royal for teaching me about community-engaged work and your support, wisdom, joy, and kindness. To Professor Kopano Ratele – thank you for encouraging me to tell stories. To the Lift Club, Tumi, Lu-Anne and Kasia, thank you for making the everyday drive to the office filled with joy, laughter and support. To Kasia, Abigail, Mapula, David, Naiema, Ghouwa, Samed, Lizette, and Mbali: each of you has impacted by personal and professional life, and in some way shaped this thesis.

To the community of critical scholars that I have met along the way: Thank you for the learnings, kindness, and guidance.

To my PhD siblings: Josie, Nicholas, Rebecca, Refiloe, Sipho, and Neziswa. You have all inspired me, challenged me, and supported me throughout this process. Your friendship, support, advice and guidance throughout this process has been invaluable. A special thanks to Nicholas who waded through my dissertation and gave extensive editorial advice.

A special thanks to my friends and colleagues who got me through the challenging last two months: Alex, Josie and Rebecca. Your encouragement, reading and comments have made an invaluable impact on my dissertation. A special thanks to all of my friends who supported me through this thesis: Zinhle, Fellyn, Celeste, Zaneta, Gill and Summer.

Thank you to my colleagues at the Centre for HIV-AIDS Prevention Studies. A special thanks to Jacqui who has allowed me the time and space to complete my dissertation and continued to

encourage and support me. Thank you to Natalie for your encouragement and the endless laughter.

Thank you to Steph Mason, who encouraged me, supported me, and told me it was about time I finished. Your love and friendship over these years has meant so much to me.

To Adrienne Bird. Thank you for showing me quiet activism and dedication. I am sorry you are not here to see me finish but know I think of you often and your way of being in the world still guides me. Thank you, thank you, thank you (as you would say)!

To my parents, Kathy and Richard. I never would have gotten here without your support, understanding, time and love. To William and Marsha: Thank you for your quiet support and understanding.

To my many cats who have sat on my keyboard – contributing to the content of my dissertation – and kept me company into the early hours of the morning.

Finally, to my partner and companion, Paulette Preyser. Your love, encouragement, and belief in me has always encouraged me to keep going. You have shared my joy, disappointment, excitement, and frustration as I have walked this path. Thank you for constantly listening to me as a ramble about my work and for taking me on adventures when I am too stuck in my head.

SUMMARY

Despite South Africa's constitution being demonstrably one of the most progressive in the world, there remains a divide between legislation and women's lived experiences of violence and inequality. In this context, marginalised women, in particular, are often wrongly perceived of as lacking in power and agency. In an attempt to understand how marginalised women articulate their agency under conditions of direct and structural violence, the aim of my study is to examine how women perform everyday resistance to violence at and between different sites, including the home, community and state-controlled institutions, and to examine the process of undertaking this research, using a critical reflexive approach. My research is structured around four studies. In Study I, I examine how a group of marginalised women perform everyday resistance in relation to state-controlled institutions. In Study II, I consider how a group of marginalised women do everyday resistance in relation to constructions of home. Study III offers an analysis of how the Thembelihle Women's Forum functions as an invented space of resistance, and everyday resistance is a relational practice. Finally, in Study IV, I do a critical reflexive reading of psychosocial accompaniment as method, elucidating the complexities, tensions and trade-offs inherent to the method. When considered against my study's broader theoretical framework (i.e., liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies), the findings of these four studies present a complex examination of the enactment of everyday resistance. Each of the studies demonstrates a number of strategies for everyday resistance, including becoming a willful subject, refusal and withdrawal, quiet encroachment, collective storytelling, affective reimagining, collective conscientisation, de-ideologizing reality, social solidarity, coping mechanisms, tactics of survival and acts of reclamation. Methodologically, I demonstrate the messiness inherent to how power dynamics are reproduced and resisted during the research process. My research seeks to deepen our

understandings of the flow of power within the research process, and the dynamic and shifting imperatives of our research practice.

Keywords: everyday resistance; marginalised women; South Africa; psychosocial accompaniment; ethnography

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

SUMMARY vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF TABLES xv

INTRODUCTION 1

Literature Review 3

Everyday Resistance 3

Locating Gender and Resistance in South Africa 9

The pre-colonial, colonial and apartheid period. 9

Contemporary South Africa. 13

This Dissertation 16

Setting 16

Participants 19

Lisa. 19

Peemuk. 20

Lindokhule. 21

Anna. 21

Lungile. 22

Maseiso. 22

Bathandwa 22

Data Collection and Procedure 23
Rationale 24
Research Aim and Objectives 26
Research Questions 26
Research Studies 27
Study I: The State, Gender Inequality and Women's Everyday Resistance. 27
Study II: Home and Women's Everyday Resistance. 28
Study III: Relational Encounters as an Invented Space for Everyday Resistance. 28
Study IV: The Uneven Pathways of 'Walking with' in the Doing Psychosocial Accompaniment. 29
Data Trustworthiness 30
Conceptual Framework 31
Liberation Psychology. 32
Geopolitical Feminism. 36
Affective Economies. 37
Ethical Considerations 40
Critical Analytic Reflexivity 46
Dissertation Outline 50
References 52
STUDY I 65
Abstract 65
Introduction 66
A Review of the Body of Literature 70
Understandings of Violence Against Women 70

Understanding the Body of the State 74
The Everyday Violence of the State 75
The Healthcare System and Everyday Violence 82
Everyday Resistance 84
The Present Study 86
Theoretical Coordinates 86
Aims and Objectives 88
Method 88
Data Collection and Procedure. 88
Data Analysis. 90
Everyday Resistances to Everyday Violence: Examining Bodies as they Extend into Space. 93
Whose Body Matters? 94
The Willful Body 100
Telling Stories about Bodies 103
Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting 108
Summary of Findings 110
Conclusion 112
References 115
STUDY II 126
Abstract 126
Introduction 127
Locating Home in the Literature 130
A Brief History of Home in South Africa 130
Constructions of Home 135

The Present Study 139
Theoretical Coordinates of Home 139
Aims and Objectives 140
Method 141
Data Collection and Procedure. 141
Data Analysis. 143
Reconfiguring the Dimensions of Home 145
Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland 146
Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports 153
Encountering Ancestors to Make Home 159
Summary of Findings 162
Conclusion 163
References 166
STUDY III 174
Abstract 174
Introduction 175
Encountering the Literature 177
Encountering Others and Institutions 177
Interpersonal Relations, Everyday Resistance and Invented Spaces 181
The Present Study 184
Theoretical Coordinates 184
Aims and Objectives 185
Method 185
The Thembelihle Women's Forum. 185

Data Collection and Procedure. 187
Data Analysis. 188
Encountering Others in Acts of Disruption and Collective Agency 189
(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity 190
Finding Space to Speak 193
Towards Collective Conscientisation 201
Summary of Findings 207
Conclusion 208
References 212
STUDY IV 218
Abstract 218
Introduction 219
The Accompanying Literature 220
Defining Psychosocial Accompaniment 220
Stepping Down and Letting Go. 222
Being With. 222
Witnessing 224
Explicating Violent Systems. 224
Psychosocial Accompaniment in Practice 225
The Present Study 227
Theoretical Coordinates 227
Aims and Objectives 228
Autoethnography as Data Collection and Data Analysis 228
Negotiating the Complexities of Psychosocial Accompaniment 231

Breaking Bread and Refusal to Consume 231
Encountering Historical Memories of Difference 237
Stepping Out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role 243
Summary of Findings 251
Conclusion 253
References 256
CONCLUSION 263
Summary of Research Findings 264
Study I 264
Study II 265
Study III 267
Study IV 268
Summary: Critically Examining Acts of Everyday Resistance 269
Research Limitations 270
Contributions to Research on Everyday Resistance 273
The Willful Body 274
Quiet Encroachment 275
Solidarity 277
Collective Storytelling 279
Ambiguities, Complexities and Tensions 281
Contributions to Research on Power and Violence within State-controlled Institutions 282
Contributions to Community-Engaged Praxis 283
Study Implications 287
Directions for Future Research 289

Concluding Remarks.....291

References.....293

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARENCE CERTIFICATE.....300

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: MOBILE ETHNOGRAPHY .302

APPENDIX C: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY 307

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: ETHNOGRAPHY 310

APPENDIX E: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY 314

APPENDIX F: INDEMNITY AGREEMENT 317

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Summary of research focus and method……..28

INTRODUCTION

Over the four studies which makes up this dissertation, I examine how marginalised South African women perform everyday resistance to direct and structural violence at and between different sites, including the body, home, and state, and - using a critical reflexive lens - I examine the process of undertaking my research. Here, I understand structural violence as violence that is embedded within broader social systems, that produce, maintain, and normalise inequality, oppression, marginalisation, exploitation, and exclusion often along identity lines (such as race, class, gender, ability and sexuality), where structural violence is historically, culturally and context specific (Galtung, 1990). Galtung (1990) distinguishes structural violence from cultural violence, which he refers to as symbolic aspects of culture – such as art, religion, ideology and science – that serve to justify direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990). My doctoral study acknowledges that women in South Africa have historically occupied, and continue to occupy, a plurality of roles, as victims, perpetrators, and advocates for change in both broader political processes and in everyday practice. Therefore, I am concerned with exploring marginalised South African women's defiance to the violent structures, which may not present as open defiance, but as everyday resistances in thinking, behaviour and relating that then function to challenge the logic of oppressive systems (Lugones, 2010). As such, I will consider the everyday resistance (see Abu-Lughod, 1989; Scot, 1990; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013) performed by marginalised women at the level of material survival strategies (e.g., by generating livelihoods), cultural resistance (e.g., holding onto cultural traditions), and social and ideation resistance (e.g., holding onto hope and creating ordinariness) to conditions of direct and structural violence (Richter-Devroe, 2011). Given the inter-dependence between systems of power and resistance, this study contributes to understandings of marginalised women's everyday resistance as revealing of the nature of

structural power in contemporary South Africa, while tracing the continuities of colonialism and apartheid in the everyday lives of South Africans.

In democratic South Africa, despite the redress of gender inequality being a priority on government's agenda (The Department of Women, 2015), the triple burden of poverty, inequality and unemployment continues to impact on marginalised women (Sachs, 1990; The Department of Women, 2015). Schreiner et al. (2004) argues that women face a further burden: a legacy of race, class and gender oppression. Critical scholars have therefore argued that South Africa's constitution has failed to be transformative with respect to women's empowerment (e.g., Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Stewart, 2015). Despite South Africa's constitution being demonstrably one of the most progressive in the world, scholarship demonstrates that there remains a divide between legislation and women's lived experiences of violence, economic inequality, and structural violence (see Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Sachs, 1990; Schreiner et al., 2004; Stewart, 2014).

Gqola (2007, 2015) posits that current conceptualisations of women's empowerment require women to slot into inherently patriarchal structures and to become 'honorary men', leaving systems largely untransformed. Furthermore, discourses constructed in governmental policy (such as by the policy from the Department of Women cited above) position women as passive and overlooks women's enactment of social justice and economic restructuring. Empowerment of women under these conditions only allows some women to have access to wealth, status, corporate and government office, and excludes the majority of women, especially impoverished women, from these processes (Gqola, 2015). Furthermore, marginalised women are often thought of as having less power due to their material living circumstances. However, scholars argue that marginalised women are not powerless and are able to articulate their

agency in various, albeit constrained, ways (Meth, 2010; Scott, 1990). Thus, in the South African context, in order to better understand women's action, it is necessary to look beyond the political sphere to their everyday resistance aimed at transforming intersecting forms of oppression.

In what follows, I first present a review of the literature on everyday resistance, and gender and resistance within the South African context. Following this, I describe the study setting, participants, data collection and procedure, and elaborate on the rationale, aims, objectives and research questions that have guided this research. Thereafter, I provide a brief summary of each of the four studies that make up this dissertation. The next sections focus on the data trustworthiness, ethical considerations and critical reflexivity issues that are pertinent to my study. Finally, I present an overview of the structure of the dissertation.

Literature Review

In this literature review, I first critically review the literature on everyday resistance. Towards the end of the first section, I focus specifically on women's everyday resistance. I then review the literature on gender and resistance within South Africa. In this section, I examine the construction of race and gender during the pre-colonial, colonial, and apartheid period in South Africa, and women's resistance to direct and structural violence, both at the level of social movements as well as in their everyday enactments.

Everyday Resistance

For the purpose of this dissertation, the 'everyday' is defined as the close, familiar, ordinary, and dynamic experiences that shape and are shaped by our social identities (Harrison, 2000). Through illuminating the everyday, Felski (1999) argues that we are able to examine embodied,

invisiblised and habitual ways in which people come to know, be and interact. The everyday, according to Suffla, Malherbe and Seedat (2020), can impact and be impacted upon by broader societal, cultural and economic factors. Sabarathnam (2013) states that people are able to, at the same time, enact individual and collective agency to resist these broader structures of power within the everyday. Within societies where there is a continuation of violence (such as South Africa), people may draw on plural, improvised and small everyday acts of resistance to (re)shape these continuities of violence and extend the physical, material, and psychological spaces in which they are able to occupy (Bayat, 1997, 2000). Here, I understand space as a multidimensional construct. Space understood within its physicality emphasises the material aspects of space, such as a building structure and/or geographic location. Layered onto its physicality, space has an emotional and psychological component which encompasses affect, memory, imagination and/or understanding. Space is also politically saturated and delineates how and what kind of actions can be performed within certain physical spaces.

Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) theorise everyday resistance as the routine actions people take in their everyday lives that undermine power. These actions, according to scholars, are quiet, dispersed, disguised, not politically articulated, and seemingly 'invisible' (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1989; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Because everyday resistance is not easily recognised, critical scholars argue that there is a risk of labelling too many actions as resistance (e.g., Sabaratnam, 2013; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Thus, there is a resultant difficulty separating everyday resistance from survival mechanisms, coping mechanisms, resentment and reclamation (e.g., Bayat, 1997; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Acts of reclamation are ways in which subjects reclaim physical, psychological, cultural and affective spaces (see Bayat, 1997). For example, Bayat (1997) states that people may be preoccupied with the pursuit of jobs, food, shelter, and individual and familial dignity. These actions, that are orientated

towards survival, may not lead to the development of technical, legal and organisational frameworks that support the advancement of social justice (Bayat, 1997), nor to overthrowing violent systems and cultivating ideologies of emancipation (Abu-Lughod, 1989). However, Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) state that acts of coping and survival may be acts of resistance if the cumulative result is that structures of power are undermined. Bayat (1997) goes on to elucidate that the absence of overt, cooperative and continuous collective action does not dictate a lack of resistance. Scholars argue that these acts of survival are undergirded by resentment, resistance and reclamation and are important considerations for understanding acts of everyday resistance (e.g., Bayat, 1997; 2000). Acts of survival, then, are cumulative acts that expand, redesign, and reconfigure the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and affective spaces in which people who experience marginalisation can live (Bayat, 1997).

Bayat (1997) coined the term 'quiet encroachment' to refer to everyday resistance, which is the silent, protracted and pervasive advancement of ordinary people into physical spaces that are occupied by the powerful. He states that through quiet encroachment, people redesign the physical space in which they can move, by circumventing legal and bureaucratic processes to obtain jobs, housing, and extensions of government subsidies. Some of these activities may be unlawful, and citizens run the risk of facing state suppression. Everyday resistance, in forms such as quiet encroachment, do not resist power in its entirety and cannot fully exists outside systems of power (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Instead, these small acts of resistance are able to speak back to and illuminate the complex ways in which power is (re)produced within the everyday.

Critical scholars have stated that resistance should be read in relation to the systems and structures of power under which they are created (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1989, 1990; Foucault,

1990; Hart, 1991). Resistance, according to Foucault (1990), cannot exist without the presence of power and provides insight into how power functions and how people operate within these structures. Conceptualising acts of resistance in relation to power allows for a move away from abstract theories of power, to a more methodological and contextualised study of power (Abu-Lughod, 1990). Scholars argue that insurgent practices are complex and internally contradictory, affectively ambivalent, shaped by particular cultural responses, and exist within particular historical contexts, gendered histories, changing discourses around sexuality and rights, and the concurrent resistance and buy-in to patriarchal values for different purposes by both men and women (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1989, 1990; Oomen, 2004; Orther, 1995; Robins, 2008; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Integral to theorisation of resistance is acknowledging that resistance and power are culturally and location-specific (Abu-Lughod, 1985).

Agents of resistance, according to Vinthagen and Johansson (2013), may both act as bearers for change, as well as hold ideologies embedded within violent systems. It is therefore imperative not to misattribute actions tied to everyday resistance to a political consciousness (Abu-Lughod, 1989) as resistance can have both liberating and subordinating actions and ideologies (Meth, 2010). Hart (1991) reminds us that marginalised women are active agents who resist and (re)produce existing violent structures through contestation, struggle, partial access, and adoption. Marginalised women may, indeed, work within the structure and continue to embrace the hegemonic ideology to broaden and redesign their psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Orther (1995) argues that through respecting the ambivalent complexity of everyday resistance, we are able to generate a thorough and critical account which has a different sociohistorical shape that encompasses patterns of resistance and non-resistance. Resistance does not have to be free from

contradictions, and may be a combination of survival, coping, accommodation and resistance (Orther, 1995; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013).

While there has been increased interest in studying everyday resistance of subaltern actors (MacGinty, 2011; Richmond, 2011), Sabaratnam (2013) argues that these "critiques have failed to address systematically the deeper problems of 'Eurocentrism' in how we think and research the politics of the international" (p. 260). One of the limitations on current studies of everyday resistance is the examination of 'indigenous' knowledges and practices, which results in an ontological distinction that separates the 'Western'/ 'international' from the 'non-Western'/ 'local' (Sabaratnam, 2013). Working within the confines of this ontological binaristic distinction closes off counter-hegemonic modes of examining everyday resistance. Therefore, this caveat is an important consideration in the current research to the extent that the potential for the reproduction of colonial logic in the examination of women's everyday resistance is carefully noted.

Iñiguez de Heredia (2017) argues that everyday resistance has been under-theorised. In light of this gap, this research project situates women's struggles for gender justice and equality within the intersectionality of political spaces, including formal politics, informal politics, and the domestic arena (Miraftab, 2006). This stance recognises that insurgent practices exist on a spectrum and, according to Scott (1990), a focus on publicly declared resistance, such as protests and demonstrations, neglects subtle, hidden scripts of resistance, which are everyday forms of resistance (see also Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). I take the stance that the absence of overt collective action does not mean that there is no resistance being enacted (Bayat, 1997).

Considering the critiques of Scott's work (see Gupta, 2001; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013), in this dissertation I acknowledge that marginalised women do not hold an unproblematic unitary identity but have a complex, contradictory and overlapping identity that can occupy both positions of domination and subordination. Marginalised women's actions are embedded within the social complexity of resistance, where their actions are not merely a mechanical reaction to domination but governed by their own politics and local categories of friction (Orther, 1995). Resistance, then, is an ongoing, iterative and interactive process of complexity, contradictions and multiplicity that is not solely located at the level of the individual, but is a combination of subjectivity, context and interaction (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013).

Critical scholarship has established that social power can be contradictory. Hart (1991) states that there are multiple layers of possibilities and ambiguities for resistance and contestation. Abu-Lughod (1989, 1990) corroborates this, stating that within an ever-changing society, communities are tied to multiple and nonlocal systems. As such, social power is often intersecting, and has multiple, conflicting structures of influence. Focusing solely on women's agency and resistance or locating them only as passive victims loses sight of the larger social, political and economic configurations in which they operate, as well as the increasing precarity and difficult realities faced in these women's everyday lives (Hart, 1991; Meth, 2010). Resultantly, marginalised women's resistance can illuminate how power operates in contemporary South Africa across public and private spheres.

Marginalised women are often perceived as having less power due to their material living circumstances and operating within powerful patriarchal relations. However, Meth (2010) argues that "these women are not powerless, but express their agency in various, although often constrained, ways" (p. 248). This is supported by Scott (1990) who elaborates that people who

experience marginalisation cannot always openly contest their subordination but may create and protect social spaces in which they can voice their dissent against dominant discourses of power. Furthermore, Meth (2010) argues that as much as women's participation in resistance is overlooked, it has also been uncritically celebrated (see also Abu-Lughod, 1989). Marginalised women's actions are often simply assumed to be transformative by virtue of their more excluded and oppressed position within society (Meth, 2010). However, Meth (2010) argues that marginalised women use diverse, complex, and contradictory tactics to manage high levels and intersecting violences.

Locating Gender and Resistance in South Africa

In this section, I will locate gender within its socio-historical context, from the precolonial period to contemporary South Africa, to situate the continuities of colonialism and apartheid in present-day challenges facing the country. Furthermore, this section will situate women's resistances in relation to this socio-historical context.

The pre-colonial, colonial and apartheid period. The study of pre-colonial southern African societies is challenging as missionaries and colonial figures (who brought into their writings Western understandings of gender, marriage and power) have written much of South Africa's history (see Gqola, 2007, 2015; Weir, 2007 for discussion). In these writings, Weir (2007) argues, pre-colonial South Africa was often examined using a colonial understanding of race, gender, and sexuality that denote a homogenous, universal subordination of women in the face of the militarised masculine and overshadow women's roles in the political, economic, religious and military sphere. However, critical historians have countered such skewed representations by providing an alternative histography, which problematises western understandings of gender, marriage and power (see Guy, 1987; Weir, 2007). Historical

accounts indicate that women's leadership was integral to the functioning of many pre-colonial Southern African societies (Weir, 2007). It is recognised that the experiences of elite women did not necessarily translate for all women; however, examining prominent women's positions within pre-colonial society offers a nuanced re-examination of women within pre-colonial societies. Ultimately, Weir (2007) posits that women during this period were not simply subject to a patriarchal rule that made them powerless but could be political agitators.

Some scholars argue that colonialism utilised Judeo-Christian patriarchy to disrupt pre-colonial conceptions of gender and race (see Grosfoguel, 2007; Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995; Thornberry, 2016). Particularly, these scholars contend that central to the production and sustainment of a colonial patriarchy was the creation of sexual difference and sexual violence (see Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995; Thornberry, 2016). Slavery was central to the colonial agenda and informed colonial constructions of race and gender (Gqola, 2007, 2015; Lugones, 2010; Maldonado-Torres, 2016). To be a slave was to be dehumanised (viewed as an object) and denied autonomy. Sexual violence and rape were a routine and core feature of slavocratic society (Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995). The slave body was owned by the slave master and with it their reproductive, productive and sexual labour (Gqola, 2007, 2015; Scully, 1995). Enslaved women had to negotiate the complex terrain of sexuality, reproduction and labour and used myriad modes of subversion, survival, volition, resistance and innovation (Gqola, 2007). Sexual violence, then, acted to, and continues to maintain, white patriarchal supremacy. Colonial constructions of blackness, whiteness and gender cannot be disentangled from contemporary women's lived experience and material realities, nor from their everyday resistance to structural and direct violence.

Apartheid continued the gendered and racialised project of colonialism (Gqola, 2007) and further entrenched racial inequality through legislated racial segregation, which allowed white male-dominated power to grab land and resources (Schreiner et al., 2004). The socio-political landscape of apartheid constructed gender at two levels: at the level of the apartheid state (the authorised public space) and in the private sphere. Black women were relegated to the lowest paid jobs in a white dominated South Africa due to the race- and gender-segregated job market (Schreiner et al., 2004). Apartheid resulted in the denial of the most basic human rights, including black women's right to travel freely to seek gainful employment. The denial of freedom to travel for work placed black women in a position of systemised dependency on husbands for meagre amounts of money that was sent home (Andrews, 2001). The exploitation by the system of black migrant labourers resulted in the marginalisation of black women at various levels. It caused separation from spouses and fathers, and placed all reproductive responsibly on black women, which resulted in sole responsibility for domestic chores and food production for the family (Andrews, 2001; Schreiner et al., 2004). The cumulative effect of this was an erosion of black women's resource rights, where they lost control of the benefits of their own labour and experiences a loss of voice within society (Schreiner et al., 2004).

South Africa's resistance history during the apartheid period has been proliferated with accounts of women's active participation in political protests (e.g., Walker, 1991), directed at political transformation at both the level of the state and civil society (Yuval-Davis, 1993). Politics in South Africa has historically, and continues to, intrude of the private lives of South African women. Therefore, while my doctoral study focuses on everyday resistance in contemporary South Africa, it necessarily references South Africa's wider resistance history and politics. These historical struggles were aimed at both the broader democratic struggle and the alleviation of everyday economic struggles faced by these women (Walker, 1991). Women

in anti-apartheid liberation movements had to deal with both the apartheid state and the male dominated anti-apartheid resistance movement and, as a result, were faced with overlaying forms of patriarchy. Just as apartheid was gendered, so were anti-apartheid movements. While not all anti-apartheid movements were patriarchal, many invoked violent masculinities to reclaim adult agencies as an act of defiance in the face of the infantilisation of the apartheid state (Gqola, 2015). In the face of emasculation, many men reasserted their masculinity by dominating women in a performance of hyper-masculinity. However, some scholars (see Cock, 2007; Gqola, 2015) contest that women and women-led movements in the liberation struggle were not passive in these enactments of hyper-masculinity, and many women were complicit in these constructions of the militarised masculine, either being responsible for considerable brutality themselves or supporting men's brutality.

The liberation struggle in South Africa was thus simultaneously a site of resistance, and a space of exclusion and sexism in that anti-apartheid liberation movements in South Africa drew on women to push the national liberation agenda while simultaneously suppressing women's liberation (Cock, 1997; Primo, 1997). Other theorists argue that a simultaneous focus on both the larger struggle for social justice as well as that for gender justice would not have been possible (e.g., Fester, 1997). However, as constructions of gender are inextricably linked to race, it is impossible to focus solely on one so that the entire system of racial and gender inequality needs to be dismantled. Women's differential experience of apartheid has not been sufficiently acknowledged in post-conflict negotiations, as well as by scholars who argue that it would be impossible to deal with women's liberation and the national liberation agenda simultaneously (Fester, 1997). Resultantly, in contemporary South Africa, many of the concerns unique to women remain unresolved, and continue to impact on the lived realities of marginalised women in particular.

Contemporary South Africa. In contemporary South Africa, there is a retention of gendered, classed and racialised forms of violence stemming from colonialism and apartheid (discussed in the previous section), which have relegated women to a subordinate position (Gqola, 2015; Meer, 1985). Despite South Africa having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world in terms of equality, the literature demonstrates the enormous divide that exists between the country's gender legislation and women's lived experiences of extreme conditions of gender-based violence (GBV), economic inequality, and structural violence, which bar them from full participation in social and economic arenas (see Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Sachs, 1990; Schreiner et al., 2004; Stewart, 2014).

Researchers argue that in countries where there has been a cessation of violence after a conflict, issues of men's dominance over women are rarely advanced in negotiations towards peace, and women's voices are rarely privileged at the settlement (Ní Aoláin, 2012; Puechguirbal, 2012). While some scholarship constructs South Africa as being an exception to this (see Mathabane, 1994), others note that there has been an absence of women in the transformation process (Cock, 2007), and that there is little difference to the material living circumstances of women twenty years into democracy.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is an example of women's exclusion from peacebuilding practices. The TRC, which began in 1996, was an integral part of South Africa's transformation process after the formal ending of apartheid. The TRC was founded on a limited definition of human rights violations, which resulted in a partial history of apartheid (see Goldblatt & Meintjies, 1996; McEwan, 2003). Resultantly, there is an absence of women's stories, particularly of everyday violence, within the TRC peacebuilding process (Goldblatt &

Meintjies, 1996; McEwan, 2003). Resultantly, according to Goldblatt and Meintjies (1996) and McEwan (2003), women were positioned as 'secondary victims', their role was diminished, and their experiences constructed as 'not as important'. Furthermore, women were pressured to not discredit the liberation movement by revealing violence committed against women by comrades (Graybill, 2001). Accordingly, the violation of women's rights was not thoroughly examined by the TRC, leaving the prevailing patriarchal structures largely intact. Nonetheless, women were not passive actors in the TRC process. The TRC came under the pressure of women's organisations to hold at least one hearing in each region where women could discuss experiences of abduction, detention, torture and loss to a panel of female commissioners (McEwan, 2003).

Although the South African state has been charged with redressing gender inequality, it has adopted policies and measures, at both a local and global level, which further segregate populations, resulting in differential treatment of certain groups, across race, gender and class (Stewart, 2014). Scholars highlight that in constructions of women's empowerment, there is a separation of the official public (including the state, labour market, waged labour, citizenship and civil society) and private sphere (where gender, sexuality, intimacy, reproduction, unwaged labour, the family, and the domestic sphere are relegated) (Duncan, 1996; Gouws, 1999; McEwan, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1993). This results in citizenship being constructed according to male norms, while women are side-lined to the domestic sphere, which denies the interconnectedness of the two spaces (Bondi, 1998). Thus, democracy constructs citizens as ungendered abstract individuals who have claim to a certain set of rights. Furthermore, Bondi (1998) avers that these distinctions justify women's exclusion from economic and political spaces and power, and, through moral judgements, regulates women and men's behaviour in different spaces.

In South Africa, there is a tension between the public (the bureaucrat) and private (the male-head-of-house) patriarchies, and contestation takes place over the jurisdiction of women's bodies and minds (McEwan, 2000). This occurs within a context of women attempting to strengthen their place within existing structures in the face of practical hurdles, which bar certain groups of women from full inclusion in society. Consequently, there is a need to understand women's positions within different regulatory regimes. In South Africa, women's action is not only located in the political sphere but in everyday resistances aimed at transforming the intersecting patriarchies.

There has been some research on South African's women's everyday resistance that specifically focuses on women's insurgency (Meth, 2010), their participation in politics (Bonnin, 2000), and intimate partner violence (Boonzaier, 2005, 2014). Bonnin (2000) posits that everyday resistances are not necessarily separate to the official scripts of resistance, which include protests and demonstration. Some researchers (Bonnin, 2000; Meth, 2010) have examined how women's participation in South Africa's broader resistance struggle was not only aimed at changing broader political structures, but also directed at transforming a variety of spaces (both the public and the private space). This research problematises the binary between public and private space. Bonnin's (2000) research demonstrates that while women's resistance did not intend to challenge gendered politics, as their resistance remained within the 'good wife' discourse, they nonetheless subtly undermined oppressive gender scripts. Meth (2010) examined how women do a multiplicity of insurgency to address issues of housing, crime, and work; through this research, she demonstrated that insurgency is fraught with ambiguities that exist beyond simple dichotomies. In Boonzaier's (2005) research on constructions of intimate partner violence by men and women in heterosexual relationships,

the participants were found to occupy ambiguous and multiple gender positions, where they were both complicit with and challenged dominant narratives on GBV. This research demonstrates that women's everyday resistance and complicity with broader structures of violence are multiple and complex. Boonzaier's (2014) more recent work argues that while women have been constructed as passive in their relationships with violent men, they create alterative narratives that disrupt hegemonic constructions of gender. Boonzaier (2014) also demonstrates that women's experiences of GBV as steeped in raced and classed intersections of oppression. The indicated body of work observes the complexities of women's everyday resistances to patriarchal and racist systems. Furthermore, it indicates that continuities of colonialism and apartheid impact the everyday lived realities of marginalised women.

This Dissertation

Setting

For all four of the studies, the participants were urban-poor women living in Thembelihle, a peri-urban community on the fringe of Johannesburg, South Africa, located in Ward 8 municipality in Region G. Thembelihle is a legally, physically and publicly contested physical space (Lau & Seedat, 2017), governed by conditions of structural violence, including inequality, poverty, geospatial deprivation, state failure to address human needs, media colonisation, and institutional inflexibility which limits social efficacy. The community was founded in 1983 after an open-air marketplace was set up to sell home-brewed beer to causal labourers, on a vacant piece of land in an area that was set aside by the apartheid state as an 'Indian' residential area (Lau & Seedat, 2015). The community was granted occupation of the land by the government and given material to construct dwellings (Wilson, 2005). However, some accounts state that the settlement in Thembelihle is a result of land invasions that were called for by political leaders in the latter years of apartheid (Segodi, 2018). The community

grew at a rapid rate between 1989 and 1992, during which time 47% of the households settled. Currently, Thembelihle has a population of 21 107 people, with 8781 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The community is ethnically plural and comprises of individuals from neighbouring townships, other provinces in South Africa, and other African countries, including Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and Mozambique (Seedat, Swart, & Lekoba, 2000).

The settlement is regularised in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52 of 1951, which means that the residential stands are marked out and numbered, while some services, such as electricity, water and telephone lines, can be provided (Lourenço, 2018). However, Thembelihle is governed by longstanding development concerns around water, electricity and housing. Although established in 1983, the community was only partially connected to electricity in 2016. Despite Thembelihle being in existence for over thirty years, there are still no primary or secondary schools within the community and, resultantly, children and youth need to attend school in the neighbouring areas of Lenasia or Soweto (Veriava, 2006).

The settlement has been established on dolomitic land, which is vulnerable to the development of sinkholes. The development of dolomitic land is risky and expensive (Lourenço, 2018). A geophysical examination of the land in 1992, and another in 1998, recommended that relocation of the residence was the best course for managing the dolomitic land (Modingoane, 2010). This has resulted in continued threats of relocation and eviction, leaving the residents of Thembelihle in a state of legal limbo. The community initially rejected these reports due to their lack of participation in the study. Ten years later, in 2002, some members of the community have willingly relocated while others contest that the geological evidence is sufficient to warrant eviction (Modingoane, 2010).

As a proposed remedy to the spatiality of apartheid and contemporary South Africa, there was rapid development of low-cost housing post 1994. However, these developments, due to financial restriction and time pressure, were located on the peripheries of the cities and has, thus, sustained and even entrenched the historical patterns of spatial segregation and social inequality (Huchzermeyer, 2009, 2011). The relocation of some of the residents of Thembelihle was to the nearby neighbourhoods Vlakfontein and Lehae, communities further away from the Johannesburg city centre. Although apartheid era legislations, such as the Group Areas Act, have been dismantled, forced removals and evictions continue to occur, although on a lesser scale and for different reasons (Miraftab, 2006). Echoes of this history are felt in the movement of people from Thembelihle to the neighbouring settlements of Vlakfontein and Lehae.

Since the settlement is a way outside of the city centre, the residents of Thembelihle are reliant on Lenasia for economic opportunities (Lourenço, 2018). In 2006, the average household income was R887 per month and social grants were the primary source of income for many houses (Veriava, 2006). The majority of residents live on or below the poverty line. The four most widely spoken languages in Thembelihle are Setswana (25.02%), isiZulu (22.53%), Setsotho (16.59%), and isiXhosa (10.80%). Other languages spoken in Thembelihle include Xitsonga, Sepedi, English, Tshivenda, isiNdebele, Afrikaans, siSwati and South African Sign Language (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

The University of South Africa's (Unisa) Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS) has undertaken community-engaged research in Thembelihle for over two decades. Thembelihle has long been part of the ISHS's safe communities' demonstration work. The Thembelihle community collaborators, partnering with the ISHS since 1998, have received ongoing support

to co-lead on violence prevention and peace and safety promotion interventions (ISHS, 2017). Currently, the collaboration with the community of Thembelihle is centred around the Ukuphepha Initiative, a safety demonstration programme that assumes a community-engaged and participatory research approach (ISHS, 2017).

Participants

The research used convenience sampling. The study comprised of a core group of seven women from Thembelihle. During the course of my doctoral study, the participants formed the Thembelihle Women's Forum. The aim of the Forum is the empowerment of women and girls in social, economic, and political arenas of their lives. The Forum collective is occasionally joined by other women outside of the core membership group. The participants were identified through a longstanding collaboration between Thembelihle and the Unisa ISHS, where I worked as a researcher. I met the participants through community walkabouts, word of mouth, and community-engaged activities organised by the Unisa ISHS. Interaction through the Unisa ISHS allowed for organic relationships to develop between the participants and myself. Ongoing and sustained contact was facilitated through community-engaged events hosted by the Unisa ISHS.

Below I provide brief descriptions of each of the participants. These, however, do not capture the complexity of these women and our interactions. Each of the participants selected their own pseudonym to protect their identities.

Lisa. I met Lisa outside her home while doing a community walkabout aimed at recruiting participants for an asset mapping research project at the Unisa ISHS. Lisa and I established a fairly immediate connection through that initial encounter. Lisa is in her early 30s and has two

children. At the onset of the research, her oldest daughter was 10-years old and her youngest 5-years old. When I first met her, her children were staying with family members outside of Thembelihle. Her oldest daughter lived in Lehae with Lisa's sister. Her youngest lived in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal with Lisa's aunt. Lisa stated that Thembelihle was not a safe place to raise her daughters. At the end of my fieldwork, both of Lisa's children were living with her. Lisa is not married but was in a long-distance relationship with a man who was living in Mozambique during the time that I knew her. She lives on her own stand in Section D of the neighbourhood, and rents out rooms to other families. At the beginning of the research process, Lisa established the Thembelihle Women's Forum. She recruited two of the other participants of this study. In the first year of my research, Lisa was very involved in my doctoral research and the Thembelihle Women's Forum. However, when her aunt was murdered and her daughter had to come live with her in Thembelihle, she withdrew from the study and the Thembelihle Women's Forum. In early 2020, during the final write-up of my dissertation, Lisa contacted me to help her to draft her curriculum vitae. Through this interaction, she reconnected with me, Unisa, and the other members of the Women's Forum.

Peemuk. I met Peemuk while she was walking home on the same walkabout where I met Lisa. She is Zimbabwean and was 31-years old at the start of my study. She lived with her uncle and her sister when we first met. When I met Peemuk, she was in her final stages of pregnancy. A month later, her son was born. When he was born, she moved into her own home just down the street from where she was living before. Peemuk is an entrepreneur and sells products from Zimbabwe to the residents of Thembelihle. During our interactions, she spoke about buying clothing at factory stores in Johannesburg and starting to sell them. Our connection was disrupted when she returned to Zimbabwe for four months. During her time away, we did not

have contact with one another. When she returned, she did make contact, but it was not sustained for the duration of the research process.

Lindokhule. I met Lindokhule at a community-engaged event at the Unisa ISHS. We were both assigned to the same group to discuss the development and implementation of a community-led campaign. After a discussion that focused on the ways in which the Thembelihle Women's Forum could centre itself in the campaign, such as through creative arts. Lindokhule approached me because of our mutual interest in art. In the conversation, I invited her to take part in my study. Lindokhule was 26-years old at the start of my study and is from the Eastern Cape. She currently lives in Thembelihle with her son, her younger brother and her aunt and uncle. She is actively involved in activism in Thembelihle, and worked on door-to-door campaigns lobbying for sanitation in the community. During the course of the research, Lindokhule returned to school to complete her matric qualification.

Anna. I met Anna through Lisa. They live in the same street and she was invited by Lisa to attend the Thembelihle Women's Forum and a community-engaged event hosted by the Unisa ISHS. Anna was 26-years old at the start of my study and lives with her husband in Thembelihle. They are both from Lesotho. Anna and her husband run a spaza shop (or informal convenience business) from their house. While her participation was initially tied to Lisa, when Lisa withdrew for a time, Anna continued attending events at the Unisa ISHS and participating in the research process. Anna became a central figure in the continuity of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. During the research process, she received the calling to become a Sangoma[1].

[1] Traditional healer in South Africa.

Lungile. I met Lungile at a Unisa ISHS community event, a day before the #TheTotalShutdown march in nearby Pretoria. We attended the protest together, with a few other members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum and Unisa staff members. This was how she began participating in the study. She is studying Information Technology at a colleague in Lenasia. She lives one road outside of Thembelihle in Lenasia Extension 10, with her husband, her children, her husband's twin brother, his wife, and her nieces and nephews. When I initially met her, she had three children. Later that year, she told me she was pregnant with another daughter. After the birth of her daughter, there was a gap in our communication. Towards the end of 2019, she began participating in the activities of the Thembelihle Women's Forum again.

Maseiso. I met Maseiso through Lisa and Anna. She originally participated in only the community-engagement activities at the Unisa ISHS. Initially, I thought she was not interested in participating in the study itself. As our relationship grew, through our interactions related to the aforementioned campaign, she requested to join my research. She was 42-years old at the start of my study and is from Lesotho. She has two daughters, one in her 20s and another that was 2-years old at the beginning of my research. We made our connection predominantly through her youngest daughter, with whom I forged a bond and who is regularly accompanies Maseiso to the Unisa ISHS events.

Bathandwa. I met Bathandwa through community-engaged activities at the Unisa ISHS. She was 19-years old and was a year out of matric when we first met. She grew up in Thembelihle, but her mother is from Lesotho. She does not have her South African ID. When I first met her, she worked at a butcher shop. Later, she started working at a drug and alcohol rehabilitation facility just outside of Thembelihle. She is the chair of a youth-based community-based

organisation. Bathandwa took over as the chair of the Thembelihle Women's Forum when Lisa left. However, when she started working full time at the rehabilitation centre, she could not meet the obligations of the Forum.

Data Collection and Procedure

The data collection for this study included critical ethnography, mobile ethnography and autoethnography. Each of these data collection methods and procedures are discussed in detail in each of the studies. The data collection was predominantly conducted in English. The participants spoke a diverse array of languages, such as isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, and Shona. When other languages were used, the participants usually explained what they were saying to other participants and me in English if we did not understand. The participants worked to linguistically accommodate each other as well as me. Within the context of the Forum or group dialogues, some conversations in which the participants wished to exclude me remained untranslated by them. As such, I also left those audio recordings untranslated. In cases where the meaning was explained to me, or I was engaged in the conversation that took place in another language, the text was transcribed, translated, and back translated.

There were some temporal gaps in the data collection for some participants – especially those participants who moved out of the province or country for some time during the research process. These gaps contributed to a partiality in the data collected for this study. However, these temporal gaps are significant in that they reflect broader mobility patterns for women in accordance with cultural, familial or personal demands within the South African landscape. I discuss South Africa's history of land dispossession and migrant labour in Study II, and how this history has shaped patterns of moving towards and away. I acknowledge that my data and analysis are partial, contingent and incomplete.

Rationale

My focus on the everyday resistance of women addresses a number of gaps within current understandings of everyday resistance to direct and structural violence. In this research, I seek to challenge discursive strategies that relegate women to only specific types of identity, action and agency, thereby re-entrenching the oppressive understandings of gender and race (Sabaratnam, 2013). I seek to offer insights into contextually-grounded conceptualisations and enactments of everyday resistance. That is to say that I do not take a simplistic understanding of resistance that either venerates or condemns marginalised women, but rather I view everyday resistance as a complex, internally contradictory, and affectively ambivalent act that is context-specific.

It may be argued that the current conceptualisations of resistance are insufficient because they are confined by racialised and gendered understandings of the world (Hudson, 2016; Väyrynen, 2004). Unless the way gender is viewed changes in resistance processes, gendered hierarchies will remain intact (see Hudson, 2016; Ní Aoláin, 2012; Puechguirbal, 2012; Väyrynen, 2004). Thus, this research approaches everyday resistance in ways that elucidate the multiplicity of identities, actions, and agencies that are performed outside of the victim/women/ protector and aggressor/men/ protector binary through a nuanced look at the multiplicity of roles and psychological, social, psychosocial, physical, and emotional spaces that women may occupy in doing everyday resistance.

The examination of forms of everyday resistance by marginalised South African women in contemporary South Africa that extend beyond the official scripts of publicly-declared resistance and transformation, such as protests, demonstrations, and formally organised change processes, will provide a more nuanced and understanding of gender and resistance. By

focusing only on women in the vanguard of the resistance (the official public sphere), research neglects how women enact resistance in other significant spaces. This research accepts the interconnectedness of public and private spaces (see Bondi, 1998; Duncan, 1996; Gouws, 1999; McEwan, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1993). Through the use of a liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and an affective economy theoretical lens, my study seeks to advance current conceptualisations of resistance through the examination of how resistance is done beyond the state in the production of the everyday. Here, I view resistance on a continuum.

This study examines multiple areas of everyday resistance, including state-controlled institutions, constructions of home (detailed below), and everyday resistance as a social and relational practice. These selected areas only provide a partial examination of everyday resistance. However, these multiple areas provide a layered understanding of everyday resistance. In this way, I examine public and private spaces on a continuum (see Bondi, 1998; Duncan, 1996; Gouws, 1999; McEwan, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1993), and view the personal as political (see Hanisch, 1970). Approaches that view the personal as political (see Hanisch, 1970), and examine both the public and the private sphere, are arguably able to more fully examine women's political activity.

Given its significance in this research study, critical analytic reflexivity is a central concept in this study. As such, in the final study of my dissertation, I undertake a critical examination of the process of conducting this research. This study then orients to a critical examination of ethnographic work and community-engaged praxis, offering an *in-situ* examination of the flows of power within the research process. As I - the researcher - cannot be separated from the research process, it is imperative to examine how I function as a socio-politically inscribed

site that is embedded within broader cultural, societal and political axes of being (Allen & Piercy, 2005).

Research Aim and Objectives

My research is structured around four distinct but interrelated studies. The overarching aim of my doctoral study is to examine how women perform everyday resistance to direct and structural violence at and between different sites, including the home, community, and state-controlled institutions. Emphasising the importance of critical analytic reflexivity, in my final study, I aim to draw these studies together through an examination of the process of conducting this research. Drawing on a feminist-orientation, my practice of reflexivity in my final study allows for an examination of how this knowledge is produced, and the power dynamics embedded within the research practice, and supports the principles of emancipatory research practice (Pillow, 2003; Oakley, 1981).

The objectives of my study are to:

1. Examine how women do everyday resistance and negotiate intersections of power in state-controlled institutions.
2. Examine how women perform everyday resistance at home.
3. Examine how women enact everyday resistance through a social and relational practices within the invented space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum.
4. Examine psychosocial accompaniment as method.

Research Questions

The overall study is informed by the following research questions:

1. How do women do everyday resistance and negotiate intersections of power in state-controlled institutions?
2. How do women perform everyday resistance in relation to home?
3. How does a group of marginalised women perform everyday resistance through social and relational practices in an invented space?
4. How is psychosocial accompaniment enacted in my research?

Research Studies

To address the questions noted above, my research is organised around the four studies.

Study I: The State, Gender Inequality and Women's Everyday Resistance. As highlighted in the literature reviewed above, despite South Africa having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world in terms of equality, there exists an enormous divide between the country's gender legislation and women's lived experiences of GBV, economic inequality, and structural violence. State-controlled institutions, although charged with ensuring gender equality, often enact everyday violence that further marginalises women. In this study, using mobile ethnographic data, I examine women's everyday resistance to everyday violence enacted by state-controlled institutions that are responsible for policy, societal and institutional reform towards gender equality. I analyse the data using queer phenomenology. In this study, I pay particular attention to the production of space. Taking an approach that views the personal as political (see Hanisch, 1970), I subscribe to the notion that power relations embedded within state-controlled institutions are immediately present in everyday life and are felt in personal experience (Connell, 1990). Considering this, the following questions guided the study:

1. How do state-controlled institutions perform everyday violence in relation to women?

2. How do women experience state-controlled institutions in the everyday?
3. How do women enact everyday resistance against state-controlled institutions?

Study II: Home and Women's Everyday Resistance. 'Home' has a multiplicity of dimensions, and is a psychological, social, and geographic space, rooted in the mundane practices of the everyday. The (re)creation of home in South Africa is heavily influenced by the socio-historical landscape of colonialism and apartheid, and the associated mechanisms of land dispossession and migrant labour. Running parallel to these violences are creative, prudent, determined and ordinary forms of resistance that carve out and extend psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces for people who experience marginalisation to (re)create home. Using critical ethnography, in this study I examine the ways in which a group of marginalised women experience home and do everyday resistance in relation to constructions of home. I analyse the data using an interpretative phenomenological analysis. I seek to further the overall aims of the thesis, guided by the following guiding questions:

1. How is home in South Africa experienced by a group of marginalised women?
2. How does a group of marginalised women do everyday resistance in relation to home?

Study III: Relational Encounters as an Invented Space for Everyday Resistance. Interpersonal relations are a routine site of everyday resistance. Everyday resistance is conceptualised as a social and relational praxis that is done through everyday encounters that women have with each other and their community. Drawing on ethnographic data, I explore how the Thembelihle Women's Forum, an invented social space of resistance, operates to address historical trauma. In this study, I examine the everyday ways in which women enact everyday resistance through relational practices within the Thembelihle Women's Forum. This study was guided by the following questions:

1. How does a group of marginalised women perform everyday resistance through relational practices in the context of an invented space for resistance?
2. How does affect function between subjectivities within the space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum?
3. How are histories of colonialism and apartheid resisted and reproduced within the space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum?

Study IV: The Uneven Pathways of 'Walking with' in the Doing Psychosocial Accompaniment. Psychology, both globally and locally, is rooted within histories of colonialism. This enduring legacy shapes the way in which community psychologists conduct research within marginalised communities. Although psychology is embedded in histories of violence and domination, critical scholars (Kessi, 2019; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Ratele et al., 2020) have demonstrated that there are a number of tools that can be used towards emancipatory ends. Psychosocial accompaniment is one of these methods (Watkins, 2013). Using autoethnography, I present a critical analytic reading of psychosocial accompaniment as method, elucidating the complexities, tensions and trade-offs inherent to the method. This study seeks to further the overall aims of the thesis through the following guiding questions:

1. How is psychosocial accompaniment enacted in this research?
2. How are power dynamics resisted and (re)produced in the research space between the research participants and me?
3. How does affect circulate between the research participants and me?

Table 1 below summarises the research focus and method.

Table 1. Summary of research focus and method

	Study I	Study II	Study III	Study IV
Study Focus	Everyday Resistance to Everyday Violence Enacted by State-Controlled Institutions	Everyday Resistance within the Home Space	Everyday Resistance as a Relational Practice	Analytic Reading of Psychosocial Accompaniment
Data Source	Mobile Ethnography	Critical Ethnography	Critical Ethnography	Autoethnography
Data Analysis	Queer Phenomenology	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis	Autoethnography

Data Trustworthiness

Data trustworthiness is designed to ensure rigour in qualitative research (Shenton, 2004), and can be pursued through the examination of Guba's (1981) constructs of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility assesses whether the study measures what is intended (Shenton, 2004). In the current study, credibility was addressed through prolonged engagement, triangulation, frequent debriefing sessions with supervisors and participants, peer scrutiny, and examination of results in relation to previous research findings (Shenton, 2004). The study drew from a number of data sources, including go-along interviews, multiple interviews and focus groups, and extended engagement, thereby assuming a triangulatory approach to both data collection and analysis to ensure credibility, dependability, and confirmability. Dependability is the extent to which should the study be repeated in the same environment and with the same methods and participants, the results would be similar (Shenton, 2004). Along with triangulation, dependability was pursued through the detailed description of how the study was carried out.

Additionally, the study adopted a triangulatory approach to analysis, which considered four levels: 1) the immediate text; 2) the intertextual and intertextual discursive relationships between the data; 3) the extralinguistic (social) level; and 4) the broader socio-political and

historical context. Switching between these levels and scrutinising the findings from these differing levels enhances the study's credibility (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The data was collected over a longitudinal period of time. As such, stories offered by the participants were deepened, expanded or altered based on further communications. Furthermore, stories progressed through the data collection process. That is, the data was layered and deepened across time. As I proceeded through the data collection process, I engaged in conversations with my supervisors and peers about the process and the initial themes that appeared to be emerging. I used these conversations to inform the data collection process. The data was also read against broader literature – both at the extralinguistic level and the broader socio-political and historical level. I analysed my findings with this literature in mind.

With respect to transferability, which examines how much the findings of this study can be applied to other contexts, relevant background context for the study is provided, so that comparisons can be made (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability is the extent to which the results are representative of the participants' experiences and idea, as opposed to the researcher's preferences, and involved triangulation (discussed above), critical reflexivity, and detailed methodological description (see Shenton, 2004). Given its significance in this research study, critical reflexivity is discussed in detail below.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the current research are derived from liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics, and affect studies. Each of these conceptual coordinates focuses on operations of power. Liberation psychology allows for a critical inflection on how women resist and comply with everyday violence through a multiplicity of everyday thinking and behaviours (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Martín-Baró, 1994; Moane, 2003).

Feminist geopolitics offers a spatial dimension to women's resistances to everyday violence, allowing for an analysis of global and local geopolitics and geoeconomics within women's lives (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016; Dowler & Sharp, 2001; Massaro & Williams, 2013). Critical theories of affect allow for a conceptual understanding of the affective dimensions of everyday resistance (Ahmed, 2000, 2014; Berg et al., 2015; Canham, 2018; Dutta et al., 2016). These conceptual coordinates stand together to facilitate understandings of how marginalised women do everyday resistance.

In the following sections, I discuss liberation psychology, geopolitical feminism, and affective economies, and explain how these theoretical coordinates map on to my research.

Liberation Psychology. In response to the criticism of mainstream psychology as apolitical, universalising and socially irrelevant, liberation psychology was developed in the 1970s by Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994). Liberation psychology is a broad approach to psychology that theorises about the psychology of the oppressed and marginalised communities while attending conceptually or practically to the oppressive socio-political structures in which they live (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Martín-Baró, 1994; Moane, 2003). This is contrasted with mainstream psychology that is located within and often upholds these exploitative structures (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Enriquez, 1992). Resultantly, liberation psychology locates psychology in relation to oppressive social structures (Enriquez, 1992; Moane, 2003) and is an emancipatory paradigm from which to conduct psychological work (Burton & Kagan, 2005). As I focus on marginalised women in my doctoral study, this theoretical coordinate breaks from traditional psychology in that it attends to the oppressive socio-political structures within which the participants are located.

Martín-Baró (1994) viewed oppression as structural and psychological suffering as maintained through social, political, economic and cultural systems and institutions (see also Moane, 2003). This analytic framework requires that psychologists take an explicitly political stance that aligns with the histories and concerns of marginalised populations (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Duran, Firehammer, & Gonzalez, 2008). In this study, I recognise that the raced, classed and gendered nature of direct and structural violence stems from an enduring context of oppression. Therefore, I am interested in how women perform resistance to these violences in ways that dismantle structures of power, produce counter-discourses, practices, creative acts, and knowledges, and open up multiple ways of being in the world.

Liberation psychology offers an analytic framework to understand people's reflexive and collective acts of resistance that aim to promote their psychological well-bring (Montero, 2007). Indeed, liberation psychology centres the development and strengthening critical consciousness, communal healing, collective will and radical praxes (see Freire, 1970) and breaking exploitative structures of power (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Moane, 2003; Montero, 2007). Liberation psychology is thus an action-orientated, contextually grounded, systematic process to improve the psycho-social-material realities of marginalised populations (Malherbe, 2018). Such a conceptualisation is especially relevant to my doctoral study, which is concerned with marginalised women's acts of everyday resistance towards forms of change. This theoretical framework is then also well suited to the examination of the process of conducting this research which seeks to be contextually sensitive, and privilege the stories and realities of marginalised women.

Martín-Baró (1994) states that there are three elements to build liberation psychology. The first is a new horizon, which is the abandoning of disciplinary legitimacy to address the needs of

marginalised communities. The second, a new epistemology, posits that knowledge is democratically co-created as opposed to empirically discovered. Finally, a new praxis, which positions psychologists as working collaboratively with people to catalyse collective action and transformation (Burton & Gómez, 2015; Duran et al., 2008; Montero, 2007). Liberation psychologists have actioned these three elements through a wide array of conceptual and methodological interventions, as noted by Burton and Kagan (2005) and Montero (2007). Some of these include de-ideologizing reality ,which is the constructing and deconstructing of the social world in ways that disrupt hegemonic understandings of the world; de-alienating individual and collective consciousness through linking historic processes with contemporary lived realities, and the change-making capacities of people; recovering historical memory in order to gain insight into collective trauma and construct positive cultural identities; nurturing critical consciousness as an emotional and cognitive process of developing awareness and understanding of social inequalities undertaken by both the oppressor and the oppressed; and problematising and denaturalising everyday reality through a systematic critique of the dominant ways in which the world is presented, taught and communicated. This is a non-exhaustive list but provides some ways in which to think about marginalised women's acts of everyday resistance (see Watkins & Shulman, 2008). These elements are interwoven throughout the process of conducting this research.

Liberation psychology has a focus on the collective as opposed to the individual (Bulhan, 1985). Starhawk (1987) states that collective history is as important as individual history and that liberation psychology is concerned with how structures of power are embedded in, and shape individual lives. Most importantly, she states, liberation psychology focuses on communal healing. In the present study I thus focus on oppression and liberation at both the structural and individual level. Although I often interacted with the participants as individuals,

I am careful to locate our interactions at broader levels, including communal and societal. I examine how acts of everyday resistance (both individual and collective) work to transform structures and ideologies that create everyday experiences of violence. These structures are both external and internal. Liberation psychology is also concerned with understanding internalised oppression. Moane (2003) states that internalised oppression is important in maintaining oppression, and links broader social structures of oppression with psychological patterns, such as feelings of inferiority and helplessness, which are embedded within social conditions of degradation. This provides an important linkage between the individual and collective. Movement towards liberation, according to Martín-Baró (1994), must involve the breaking of personal oppression, as well as broader structures of social oppression (see also Duran et al., 2008).

Liberation psychology, according to Comas-Díaz, Lykes, and Alarcón (1998), also involves a process of liberation psychologists accompanying people living on the margins. Comas-Dìaz et al. (1998) defines accompanying as a process of standing alongside, working with and developing collaborative practice that is embedded within an acute recognition of power inequalities. Drawing on the work of Comas-Dìaz et al. (1998) and Watkins (2015), I employ psychosocial accompaniment as a central practice in the data collection process (see Study IV).

The persistence of classed, raced and gendered violence in South Africa is centrally connected to the enduring structures of power inequalities. In this research, I view conditions of direct and structural violence in South Africa as embedded within collective histories of colonialism and apartheid. I view gender as concrete and intricately related exercises of power – not generally, but as an embodied subjectivity. Resultantly, I am concerned with examining the defiance of marginalised South African women to direct and structural violence, which may

not present as open defiance, but as everyday resistances in thinking, behaving and relating that move against the logic of systems of oppression. My study acknowledges that marginalised South African women do not just do resistance, but do a multiplicity of behaviours, thinking and relating which are both complicit in and resist oppressive social structures, which sustains direct and structural violence. Drawing on liberation psychology, I recognise that resistance is not an action undertaken alone, but within the contexts of communities and other individuals who open up psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces to resist the broader and internalised structures of power.

Geopolitical Feminism. The study is situated within feminist geopolitics, which is a distinct branch of critical geopolitics and critical geography, and draws on critical social theory and intersectionality (see Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Massaro & Williams, 2013). Feminist geopolitics offers an analytic framework to understand how global and local geopolitical and geoeconomic relations of power are reproduced in the taken-for-granted lived realities of excluded groups (in the case of this study, marginalised women) (Dowler & Sharp, 2001). There is a resultant shift from examining the nation-state to the individual and community (Massaro & Williams, 2013). Building on the core tenet of this theoretical coordinate, I not only focus on the inclusion of women, but attend to racialised, classed, sexualised, gendered and otherwise excluded spaces that geopolitical analyses have previously silenced (Massaro & Williams, 2013).

The theoretical contributions on feminist geopolitics contends that apparently disparate groups are connected across operations of power and the production of inequality and exploitation (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016; Massaro & Williams, 2013). In this study, I seek to trace emergent forms of power, oppression, and resistance at and between multiple sites, such as the body,

home and state in the lived realities of marginalised South African women (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016; Massaro & Williams, 2013). Furthermore, I examine how various forms of power operate within the everyday lives of marginalised South African women and how they resist, challenge and rewrite geopolitical relations (Massaro & Williams, 2013). Through examining the everyday lives of marginalised women, feminist geopolitics offers an analysis for how geopolitical relations are experienced unevenly (Massaro & Williams, 2013). Key to feminist geopolitics is the understanding that the 'apolitical', 'feminine' private sphere (which are seemingly non-geopolitical sites) is pivotal to global operations of power (Massaro & Williams, 2013); thus, the examination of the private sphere is integral to my research.

Affective Economies. There is no stable definition of affect (Thrift, 2004). While affect can have multiple meanings, definitions of affect have usually been associated with emotions and feelings such as shame, anger, hatred, jealousy, fear, love, pride, joy and hope (Thrift, 2004). However, this framing of affect is not sufficient. Drawing from the theoretical traditions of hermeneutics and social interactionism, affect has been theorised to be constituted by embodied practices that result in visible behaviour (Thrift, 2004). That is, these theorisations are concerned with how affect is constituted within the everyday and is primarily embedded within bodily processes. However, these theorisations have not sufficiently considered the social context in which emotional responses are situated (Thrift, 2004).

Critical scholarship that examines the juncture between affect and the everyday has focused on affect as it relates to race, sexuality, gender, violence and protest (e.g., Ahmed, 2014; Berg et al., 2015; Canham, 2018; Dutta et al., 2016). Drawing on the work by Ahmed (2000), I posit that affect plays an important role in the creation of boundaries between individual and collective bodies, binding people together socially and historically, and is therefore not a

private matter. These boundaries are delineated by the subject's identity across boundaries of race, class, and gender. Affect can signal different momentary or long-standing points of material and discursive tensions and conflict that are present within societies (Cornell, Seedat, Malherbe & Suffla, 2020). Examining affect within individuals or small groups can speak to broader social fault lines within the community and society at large. Emotions circulate between bodies and are never solely owned by the individual (Ahmed, 2000; Wetherell, 2012). That is, emotions are characterised by relationality, stickiness and movement within and between bodies, objects and the material world. As such, marginalised women's everyday resistance to broader structures of power can be read through affective circulations between bodies and institutional spaces.

Affect is both personal and political (Ahmed, 2000, 2004; Malherbe, Suffla & Seedat, 2020; Shefer & Munt, 2019; Thrift, 2004; Wetherell, 2015), and is embedded within structures of power, inequality, and resistance (Wetherell, 2015). Emotions function within societal structures and conceptualisations of space and time (Williams, 1977). As such, emotions are embedded and repeated within the everyday (Wetherell, 2012) and emotions function as a conduit through which broader manifestations of power are mediated, contested, and felt (Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). Indeed, these broader structures of power influence how subjects feel about themselves and others (Engle & Wong, 2018). Furthermore, subjects become affectively invested in and subsequently uphold broader power relations (Stoler, 2005). That is, it is through these affective attachments that people become invested in and act to reproduce power relations, conditions of oppression, and normative ways of being (Ahmed, 2004; Berlant, 2008; Crossley, 2001; Hemmings, 2015). These affective attachments result in the maintenance of gendered, classed and racialised hierarchies (Boler, 1999).

Drawing on the work of Ahmed (2004a,b, 2015), I view affect as a bodily process that involves affecting others and being affected by others. Affect, as both movement and attachment, orients a subject towards and away from others, objects, and institutions (Ahmed, 2004, 2015; Hemmings, 2012) and regulates what bodies can do in relation to one another (Lykke, 2018). Indeed, the way in which affect orients to others produces particular possibilities for action (Ahmed, 2004; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010; Spinoza, 1959). This framework helps me to think about how affect moves between the participants, myself, each other, and institutional spaces and structures.

Engle and Wong (2018) argue that through the examination of feelings produced by particular structures, we can dismantle, reinforce, extend, and scrutinise how life is organised. Just as much as we can be affectively invested in sustaining forms of inequality, we can become affectively invested in collective action that can transform society (Ahmed, 2004; Canham, 2018). Subjects can resist these structures of power through affective disruptions through feeling outside of the normative (Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). Through alternative affective imagining, subjects can make visible and disrupts structures of power (Ahmed, 2004). Indeed, affect has historicising, mobilising, politicising and solidarity-making potentials (Malherbe et al., 2020). I seek to think about affective acts of everyday resistance enacted by marginalised women. Affect is important for the everyday (Malherbe et al., 2020). That is, the present study will examine how emotions circulate within and between the participants, other subjectivities, objects, and institutions. Through this examination of affect, I consider how structures of power affectively operate as well as how the participants do affective reimagining of these structures through resistance, disruption and negotiation. Here, I mean that structures of power, such as state-controlled institutions, affectively operate to evoke emotion within the subject. Affective reimagining is the process of using emotion (for example, emotion evoked by structure of

power) as a lens to reimagine social life in order to illuminate and challenge hegemonic social norms.

Ethical Considerations

This study received ethical clearance from the University of South Africa's Human Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies REC-012714-039 (NHREC). The study's ethics clearance number is HSHDC/848/2018.

Informed consent. After I had recruited participants to participate in my researcher, I met individually with each of them to outline the research aims and objectives, their required participation, and to request their informed consent. The information sheet (see Appendices B and D) and informed consent form (see Appendices C and E) detail the purpose of the research; the reason for selecting the particular community; eligibility criteria of the study; the participant's right to refuse participation and withdraw at any time without any penalty or prejudice; the risks and benefits for the participants; issues of confidentiality and anonymity; and how the participant's information was to be protected. Participants were informed that they were also allowed to refuse to answer specific questions; they may go into as much or little detail as they feel comfortable; refuse any data collecting device, such as a voice recorder and video recorder; and had the freedom to engage in languages of their choice. The participants were also informed about what was required from them with regards to participation and time. This informed consent space allowed for participants to ask questions of the researcher. All participants received a copy of the signed and dated version of the information sheet and consent form for themselves.

Consent in ethnographic research needs to be considered differently (Adler & Adler, 2002; Murphy & Dingwall, 2007; Parker, 2007). Informed consent in conventional qualitative environments is conceptualised in an anticipatory format, meaning that the implications of the study, methodology, and research questions can be fully conceptualised before beginning the research. Prior informed consent is better suited to research characterised by an episodic nature, as opposed to ethnography which requires an extended time doing field work (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007). Ethnography is a relational practice rather than a contractual agreement. Therefore, at the beginning of the research, informed consent is tentative and limited. Once the relationship between the researcher and participant grows in trust, areas and interactions which were previously off limits may be granted access (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007). Additionally, cooperation and consent may be withdrawn over time, requiring the researcher to withdraw from the particular interaction or the entire setting. Consent is also not straightforward and may be given for a particular setting or interaction and denied for another. Issues of informed consent needed to be continually negotiated and renegotiated throughout the process (Adler & Adler, 2002). Resultantly, this research required informal verbal informed consent at every interaction with the participant. The relational practice meant me often waiting for the participants to invite me back into their physical space.

Research participation should not just adhere to the principle of autonomy and voluntary participation, but also inform participants of the duration of the study and the objectives of the study. In ethnography, the research focus and methods often emerge during the study, which makes it difficult to fully disclose and describe the nature of their study from the onset, especially regarding the topic of ongoing conversations or the duration of the study (O'Neill, 2002). While the flexibility of ethnography provides a valuable capacity to respond to insights emerging in the research process, it also sets up a challenge for gaining informed consent from

the start. The ethnographic component of this study extended longer than expected for some of the participants. The length of the study was dictated predominantly by the participants. Movement of the participants away from and back to Thembelihle often dictated the length and nature of our interactions. Some participants were happy to participate in the research for a few months, while with others I have a sustained relationship that is still ongoing albeit transformed. These relationships have continued over social media despite me no longer working at the Unisa ISHS.

Consent is also not always explicitly stated by the participants. Over time, the line between the researcher and the researched becomes distorted and research participants may confide sensitive information that they do not consider relevant for the research, but the researcher does consider relevant (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007). To guard against this, participants were were given regular spaces to reflect on their participation in the research process.

Data Storage. All recordings of interviews, group dialogues and conversations and their transcripts, were stored on a password protected computer. The researcher's copy of the informed consent forms for each of the studies were filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only. Only myself, as the researcher, and my supervisors had access to the transcripts and the audio recordings.

Confidentiality and anonymity. Due to the nature of group dialogues, I could not assure complete confidentiality, as there was always more than one person within the group. Within the focus groups, participants were encouraged to treat what they hear within the group as confidential (Gibbs, 1997). Confidentiality was also maintained within the group structure. Participants often spoke to each other about their concerns that what was being said in the

group would be shared with others in the community. Issues of confidentiality were negotiated, and the importance thereof was held by the group.

Furthermore, issues of confidentiality for the ethnographic components are not necessarily straightforward. As I was physically seen with the participants during the mobile-ethnography and with the participants in different physical spaces, I could not assure confidentiality. As a white woman walking in Thembelihle, it was foreseeable that my engagement with the selected women sometimes identified them as research participants. Indeed, van den Hoonaard (2003) notes that ethnographic research within small communities poses a challenge to anonymity and the community is often well-aware of the researcher's movements and interactions within the community. As such, I noted the ways in which community members engaged with the participants and myself as we walked through the community. However, predominantly, the participants were engaged with by other community members in various different manners for walking with a white woman (not necessarily a researcher). These engagements varied from well-humoured, suspicious, scornful, curious to welcoming. It is important to note that the community of Thembelihle is saturated with outsiders, providing various forms of community engagement, from research to health provision. The presence of strangers within the community is not unusual. Furthermore, the participants were involved in other research and community-engaged activities at the Unisa ISHS. As such, the researchers working at the Unisa ISHS and the community-members on the campus would have recognised that they are taking part in my research. The participants were informed of this in the informed consent process.

Anonymity will be maintained in all the publications that emerge from the thesis. I will anonymise identifying data through the use of pseudonyms, as I have in this dissertation. The participants were informed that the extracts from the interviews, conversations and group dialogues will be used in the dissertation and publication of research findings, but that the

participants will not be identifiable in these reports. However, it is important to note that researchers working at the Unisa ISHS and the community-members reading my work will possibly be able to recognise the participants. Thembelihle is a small community, and many community members know about each other's lives. I spoke with the participants about the limits of confidentiality and anonymity. During these conversations, the participants spoke about wanting their stories to be heard. Issues of confidentiality and anonymity became on ongoing discussion within the research process, especially within the context of the group dialogues.

Risks and benefits. Harm arising from ethnographic research is difficult to quantify and it might not be possibly to specify all the risks at the onset (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007). Ethnographic research is not without risks, and social or psychological harm is most likely (Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000; Punch, 1994). This includes over-disclosure by a participant who later is regretful, embarrassed, or re-traumatised. However, these issues cannot be sufficiently dealt with in the informed consent process and needed to be addressed as they arose within the research process. For participants who felt psychological discomfort or distress during the research process, I engaged in containment and debriefing. For some participants, it was important to continue to tell the story that was causing distress. Because of the ethnographic nature of the work, the relationship between the participants and myself acted as a container for distressing feelings, and we jointly worked out how to navigate the relational and research encounter.

For some participants, a referral to a free counselling service was requested and made available. Other participants needed support for their children. I had a number of contacts for free counselling and social services in Johannesburg, such as Nisaa Institute for Women's

Development, Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital (including ChildLine, the social work department, the psychiatry unit and HospiVision), the University of the Witwatersrand Emthonjeni Centre (which offers the services of trainee counselling or clinical psychologists), and LifeLine Soweto (which offers both face-to-face and telephonic counselling). The arrangement for access to these services was made in collaboration with the participants. This was followed up with further conversations to check in on how the participant was doing, whether they had received sufficient assistance, and if further assistance was needed. Some participants requested support services and then selected not to go. Emotional readiness was an important factor to consider when offering a referral service.

Site permission. At the time of this study, I worked as a researcher at the Unisa ISHS, which has collaborated with the community of Thembelihle for over three decades. My research was approved by the community leaders, and facilitated by the relationships that I developed with community members through the ISHS's community-engagement and research.

Data dissemination. In addition to the dissertation, anonymised data from the study will be published in research report/s, journal articles, book chapter/s, and media platforms, and also shared through presentations (see all information sheets and accompanying consent forms).

Costs and compensation. When the conversations, group dialogues or interviews were held outside of the community, transport and refreshments were provided. For the mobile ethnographic component, that involved movement into institutional spaces such as the South African Police Service (SAPS), the magistrate's court, the Lenasia community healthcare centre (CHC), and the South Africa Social Service Association (SASSA) offices, I provided transport and a meal. No additional compensation was provided. My doctoral work was located

within a larger institutional research project that has a longitudinal relationship with the community of Thembelihle. The decision not to provide financial incentive was led by the guidelines of the larger project. As the Unisa ISHS has a longitudinal relationship with the community of Thembelihle, our community collaborators understand the Unisa ISHS' stance about financial incentives. However, here we do not consider issues of compensation in the narrow sense. Compensation is represented in my doctoral thesis (and in broader Unisa ISHS) through multiple forms and acts of giving embodied through the partnership and community-engagement.

Critical Analytic Reflexivity

Reflexivity is typically a taken-for-granted practice that focuses on researcher subjectivity as a confessional act for a cure of the problematics of representation (Pillow, 2003), and is lauded as a methodological virtue (Lynch, 2000). Reflexivity has been routinely used by qualitative researchers to examine how knowledge is acquired, organised, and interpreted relevant to the research claims (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). However, the focus on researcher subjectivity in research practice and process has been critiqued as being narcissistic, self-indulgent, tiresome, and as undermining the necessary conditions for emancipatory research (Kemmis, 1995; Patai, 1994). Patai (1994) states that self-reflexivity talk is a privileged academic activity and questions whether self-reflexivity contributes to better research, arguing that "we do not escape from the consequences of our positions by talking about them endlessly" (p. 70). However, Pillow (2003) contends that the solution is not to stop talking about our positions. Instead, she posits that we need to expose the way in which reflexivity is used and examine how we talk about our positions, how we practice them, and how our practices open, limit or affect the possibility for critical representation. Furthermore, rejecting reflexivity entirely supports notions of un-reflexive objectivism (Lynch, 2000).

Reflexivity is not merely concerned with gaining insight into the workings of the social world but is focused on the critical examination of knowledge production (Pillow, 2003). From a feminist standpoint, reflexivity is, therefore, not just about examining the power relationships embedded within the research, but about doing research differently, which involves an active retreat from the embedded ethical and political problems of traditional research practices (Oakley, 1981). This involves questions on how not to be an exploitative researcher, how to produce research that is both useful and empowering, linking research to political action, and engaging in reflexivity at every stage of the research process.

Utilising ethnography for emancipatory ends cannot be done by viewing the participants as 'objects' of my research. Instead, I had to shift my gaze and write myself into my research in order to examine identities and politics and ways in which they are enacted during and within the research process. I have dedicated the final study to an examination of the process of doing this research. While this research draws on liberatory research methods, I am mindful that this research is a step towards liberation, and not radical liberatory work in itself. There is an inherent messiness to reflexivity and the boundaries between that which is personal, my doctoral study and my work as a researcher are not always easily distinguished and distinguishable.

Reflecting on my own identity, I occupy a position as a white, middle class, queer, cisgender woman. My father moved to South Africa from the United Kingdom (UK) in his early twenties and has never acquired a South African identity card. My father's refusal to make home fully in South Africa was accompanied by threats to move back to the UK. This has not yet materialised and he remains living in Pretoria. My mother is a South African of British descent

– her mother moved to South Africa as a child and her father's family can be traced back to the 1820 British colonists. These are the stories I am told of my family's history. South Africa is routinely constructed in my household as a place of political instability, and a threat to economic and social safety.

My family history and whiteness has resulted in a material benefit and other privilege that has allowed me to occupy a particular space within South Africa: an economically privileged position, tertiary education, and social privilege that offers a buffer to my position as a queer woman. This necessarily influenced the ways in which I took up physical and emotional spaces within Thembelihle and surrounding areas, and interactions with the participants. It is therefore important for me to reflect on the ways in which this shaped the research process.

Throughout the research process, my intersecting identity categories shaped the interactions and relationships with the participants and other community members. Firstly, I was acutely aware of my privileged position and the potentially exploitative nature of the research process, and I was not always certain of what to do with it. Throughout the research process, I clumsily and unwittingly moved towards my own critical consciousness at both a cognitive and emotional level (Burton & Kagan, 2005; Montero, 2007). I discuss this in more detail in Study IV. My identity categories likely created both distance and closeness with the participants. The participants were all black women from a low-income setting who spoke English as a second or third language. This may have influenced the participants' willingness to speak to me, the kinds of stories that they told me, and how they framed their understandings and insights. The participants often accommodated me and some of the other participants by speaking English predominantly or translating for us. This accommodation does speak to the power relation between the participants and myself. Black people in South Africa are required to

accommodate white people's lack of knowledge of indigenous languages. My inability to fluently speak isiXhosa, isiZulu or SeSotho put the participants in a position where they predominantly need to speak English in order to take part in the study. While we playfully experimented with language, I was never fluent enough to hold a full conversation in a language other than English.

Furthermore, my identity categories may have centred me as a person who is outside of the community and safe to confide in. I experienced that some participants were willing to speak to me about difficult topics as they thought I had the expertise to assist in some way. This resulted in me occupying an ambivalent position as I was often not able to fulfil the expectation to assist, such as in finding employment for the participants. My position as a researcher within the Unisa ISHS, that has had a relationship with the community of Thembelihle for over thirty years, afforded me - to some extent - an insider status. My engagements with participants through other community-engaged activities afforded an extended and sustained relationship. Considering this, I occupied a complex and ambivalent space within the community.

The relationship between the participants and myself were authentically developed over time. Much like ordinary relationships, our relationship was characterised by moments of closeness, distance, distraction, attentiveness, frustration, worry and disagreement. At times, our interactions felt comfortable, open, and enjoyable while other times they felt awkward and uncomfortable. As much as we had open and uncomfortable conversations about race, class, gender, and the nature of our relationship, we also avoided these conversations at times. Although embedded in very particular power dynamics, our relationships felt for the most part mundane. I am saying this very mindful that reflexivity does not resolve underlying power dynamics between the participants and myself (Pillow, 2003). Because of the importance of

reflexivity in my doctoral research, I examine in Study IV, in detail, some of the ways in which my identity shaped the research process. In Study IV, I also critically examine the process of undertaking this kind of research work.

Dissertation Outline

My dissertation comprises of four studies, as well as introductory and concluding chapters. Each study begins with a story from my data collection engagement and process. Stories have the potential to disrupt hegemonic assumptions that produce normative stock stories, and to illuminate hierarchies of power and value embedded in these assumptions (Vincent, 2015). Histories (told in stories) of colonisation and apartheid can render certain kinds of inequality as invisible, normalised, and unquestioned (Law, 2016). Nonetheless, the telling of stories allows us to bear witness to the stories of others and interrupt the "reproduction of injustice by making the normal strange" (Vincent, 2015, p. 27). I have begun each study with a relevant story from my interaction with the participants in order to interrupt the traditional research process with a humanising element; centre the voices of the participants; and convey some of the complexity of the data collection process. I follow this with a review of the body of relevant research, noting the particular gaps that emerge. I then focus on the particulars of the study, including the theoretical coordinates that I draw from, the research aims and questions, data collection and procedure, and data analysis process. Following this, I provide an analysis and discussion of the data. Each of the themes that I identify across the four studies is introduced using a story. I conclude each study with a section that summarises the findings of the study, relates it to the relevant literature and everyday resistance, and links to the next study. Finally, in the Conclusion of the larger dissertation, I summarise the findings from each study, and relate these findings to the broader literature on everyday resistance and its related affective,

spatial, relational and physical components. I also consider the theoretical and methodological contributions of my research, the limitations of the study, and future directions for research.

References

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied Others in post-coloniality*. London, England: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. (2004a). Affective economies. *Social Text, 79*(22), 117-139.

Ahmed, S. (2004b). Collective feelings: Or, the impressions left by others. *Theory, Culture & Society, 21*(2), 25-42.

Ahmed, S. (2014). *Willful subjects.* London, UK: Duke University Press.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1989). A community of secrets: The separate world of Bedouin women. *Signs, 10*(4), 637-657.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1990). The romance of resistance: Tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women. *American Ethnologist, 17*(1), 41-55.

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (2002). Do university lawyers and the police define research values? In W. C. van den Hoonaard (Ed.), *Walking the tightrope: Ethical issues for qualitative researchers* (pp. 34-42). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Allen, K. R., & Piercy, F. P. (2005). Feminist autoethnography. *Research methods in family therapy, 2*, 155-169.

Altheide, D. L., & Johnson, J. M. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 283–312). Thousand Oaks, CA., USA: Sage.

Andrews, P. E. (2001). From gender apartheid to non-sexism: The pursuit of women's rights in South Africa. *North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation*, 26, 693.

Bayat, A. (1997). Cairo's poor: Dilemmas of survival and solidarity. *Middle East Report* (winter), 1-6.

Bayat, A. (2000). From ‘dangerous classes’ to ‘quiet rebels’: Politics of the urban subaltern in the Global South. *International Solidarity, 15*(3), 533-557.

Berg, U. D., Ramos-Zayas, A. Y., De Genova, N., Grimson, A., McElhinny, B., Nouvet, E., ... & Ramos-Zayas, A. (2015). Racializing affect: A theoretical proposition. *Current Anthropology, 56*(5), 000-000.

Berlant, L. (2008). Thinking about feeling historical. *Emotion, Space and Society, 1*(1), 4-9.

Boler, M. (1999) *Feeling Power: Emotions and education*. London, UK: Routledge.

Bondi, L. (1998). Gender, class, and urban space: Public and private space in contemporary urban landscapes. *Urban Geography, 19*(2), 160-185.

Bonnin, D. (2000). Claiming spaces, changing places: political violence and women's protests in KwaZulu-Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *26*(2), 301-316.

Boonzaier, F. (2014). Talking against dominance. South African women resisting dominant discourse in narratives of violence. In, M. N. Lafrance & S. McKenzie-Mohr (Eds.), *Creating counter-stories. Women voicing resistance* (pp. 102-120). London, UK: Routledge Press.

Boonzaier, F. (2005). *The relational construction of woman abuse: Narratives of gender, subjectivity and violence in South Africa*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

Bregazzi, H., & Jackson, M. (2018). Agonism, critical political geography, and the new geographies of peace. *Progress in Human Geography*, *42*(1), 72-91.

Brickell, K. (2012). ‘Mapping’ and ‘doing’ critical geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography, 36*(2), 225–244.

Bulhan, H. A. (1985). Black Americans and psychopathology: An overview of research and theory. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, *22*(2S), 370.

Burton, M., & Gómez, L. (2015). Liberation Psychology. In I. Parker (Ed.), *Handbook of Critical Psychology*. London: Routledge

Burton, M., & Kagan, C. (2005). Liberation social psychology: learning from Latin America. *Journal of community & applied social psychology*, *15*(1), 63-78.

Canham, H. (2018). Theorising community rage for decolonial action. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *48*(3), 319-330.

Cock, J. (1997) Women in South Africa's transition to democracy. In: J. Scott, C. Kaplan & D. Keates (Eds.), *Transitions Environments Translations: Feminisms in International Politics* (pp. 310–333). New York, NY, USA: Routledge.

Cock J. (2007). Another mother for peace? Women and peace building in South Africa. In N. Gasa (Ed.), *Women in South African history: They remove boulders and cross rivers.* Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Comas-Díaz, L., Lykes, M. B., & Alarcón, R. D. (1998). Ethnic conflict and the psychology of liberation in Guatemala, Peru, and Puerto Rico. *American Psychologist*, *53*(7), 778-792.

Cornell, J., Seedat, M., Malherbe, N., & Suffla, S. (2020). Splintered politics of memory and community resistance. *Journal of Community Psychology, 0*(0), 1-19.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1989*(1), 139-167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241-1299.

Crossley, N. (2001) *The social body: Habit, identity and desire*. London, UK: Sage.

Dowler, L., & Sharp, J. (2001). A feminist geopolitics? *Space & Polity*, *5*(3), 165-176.

Duncan, N. (1996). Renegotiating gender and sexuality in public and private spaces. In N. Duncan (Ed.), *Bodyspace: Destabilising geographies of gender and sexuality*. London, UK: Routledge.

Duran, E., Firehammer, J., & Gonzalez, J. (2008). Liberation psychology as the path toward healing cultural soul wounds. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *86*(3), 288-295.

Dutta, U., Sonn, C. C., & Lykes, M. B. (2016). Situating and contesting structural violence in community-based research and action. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, *2*(2), 1-20.

Engle, K. & Wong, Y. (2018). Introduction: Thinking feeling. In K. Engle & Y. Wong (Eds.), *Feelings of Structure* (pp. 3-11). Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Enriquez, V.G. (1992). *From colonial to liberation psychology: The Philippine experience*. Manila, Philippines: University Philippines Press.

Felski, R. (1999). The invention of everyday life. *New formations*, *39*, 13-31.

Fester, G. (1997). Women's organisations in the Western Cape: Vehicles for gender struggle or instruments of subordination? *Agenda*, *13*(34), 45-61.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality: An introduction, volume I*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Friere, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY, USA: Herder & Herder.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of peace research*, *27*(3), 291-305.

Gibbs, A. (1997). Focus Groups. *Social Research Update, Winter*(19). Retrieved from http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU19.html.

Goldblatt, B., & Meintjies, S. (1996). Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. A Submission to the TRC, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Gouws, A. (1999). Beyond equality and difference: The politics of women's citizenship. *Agenda*, *15*(40), 54-58.

Gqola, P. (2007). Tracing the elusive lives of slave women in (slavocratic) South Africa. In N. Gasa (Ed.), *Women in South African history: They remove boulders and cross rivers.* Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Gqola, P. (2015). *Rape: A South African nightmare*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Media.

Graybill, L. (2001, February). The contribution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission toward the promotion of women's rights in South Africa. In *Women's Studies International Forum, 24*(1), 1-10.

Grosfoguel, R. (2007). The epistemic decolonial turn: Beyond political-economy paradigms. *Cultural Studies, 21*(2-3), 211-223.

Guba, E.G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, *29*, 75–91.

Gupta, D. (2001). Everyday resistance or routine repression? Exaggeration as a stratagem in agrarian conflict. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *29*(1), 89-108.

Guy, J. (1987). Analysing pre-capitalist societies in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 14*(1), 18-37.

Hanisch, C. (1969). The personal is political. In B. Crow (Ed.), *Radical feminism: A documentary reader* (pp. 113-16). New York, NY.: New York Univesity Press.

Harrison, D. (2000). Antiracist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies. *Canadian Woman Studies*, *20*(2), 153-154.

Hart, G. (1991). Engendering everyday resistance: Gender, patronage and production politics in rural Malaysia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *19*(1), 93-121.

Hemmings, C. (2015). *Affect and feminist methodology, or what does it mean to be moved?* In D. Sharma & F. Tygstrup (Eds.), *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture*. (pp. 147-158). Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter.

Huchzermeyer, M. (2009). The struggle for in situ upgrading of informal settlements: A reflection on cases in Gauteng. *Development Southern Africa, 26*(1), 59-73.

Huchzermeyer, M. (2011). *Cities With 'Slums': From Informal Settlement Eradication to a Right to the City in Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.

Hudson, H. (2016). Decolonising gender and peacebuilding: Feminist frontiers and border thinking in Africa. *Peacebuilding, 4*(2), 194-209.

Iñiguez de Heredia, M. (2017). *Everyday resistance, Peacebuilding and state-making: Insights from 'Africa's World War'*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS). (2017). *Thirty Years of Commitment to Science with Compassion in the Service of Community 1986-2016*. Pretoria, South Africa: Unisa.

Kemmis, S. (1995). Emancipatory aspirations in a postmodern era. *Curriculum Studies, 3*(2), 133-167.

Kessi, S. (2019). Towards a decolonial psychology: Defining and confining symbols of the past. *Museum International, 71*(1-2), 80-87.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *48*(3), 299-309.

Lau, U., & Seedat, M. (2015). The community story, relationality and process: Bridging tools for researching local knowledge in a peri-urban township. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 25*(5), 369-383.

Lau, U., & Seedat, M. (2017). Structural violence and the struggle for recognition: Examining community narratives in a post-apartheid democracy. In M. Seedat, S. Suffla & D.J. Christie (Eds.), *Enlarging the scope of peace psychology: African and world-regional contributions* (pp. 203-220). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Law, S. F. (2016). Unknowing researcher's vulnerability: Re-searching inequality on an uneven playing field. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *4*(2), 521-536.

Lee-Treweek, G., & Linkogle, S. (2000). *Danger in the field: Risks and ethics in social research*. London, UK: Routledge.

Lourenço, M. (2019). *Participation and the politics of mediation: The case of the Thembelihle Crisis Committee* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. The University of the Witwatersrand.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia*, *25*(4), 742-759.

Lykke, N. (2018). When death cuts apart: On affective difference, compassionate companionship and lesbian widowhood. In T. Juvonen & M. Kolehmainen (Eds.), *Affective Inequalities in Intimate Relationships* (pp. 109-124). London, UK: Routledge.

Lynch, M. (2000). Against reflexivity as an academic virtue and source of privileged knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *17*(3), 26-54.

MacGinty, R. (2011) *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2016). *Outline of ten theses on coloniality and decoloniality*. The Frantz Fanon Foundation. Retrieved from http://frantzfanonfoundation-fondationfrantzfanon.com/IMG/pdf/maldonado-torres_outline_of_ten_theses-10.23.16_.pdf

Malherbe, N. (2018). Expanding conceptions of liberation: Holding Marxisms with liberation psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, *28*(3), 340-357.

Martín-Baró, I. (1994). Writings for a liberation psychology. New York, NY, USA: Harvard University Press.

Massaro, V. A., & Williams, J. (2013). Feminist geopolitics. *Geography Compass*, *7*(8), 567–577.

Mathabane, M. (1994). *African women: Three generations*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.

McEwan, C. (2000). Engendering citizenship: Gendered spaces of democracy in South Africa. *Political Geography, 19*, 627–651.

McEwan, C. (2003). Building a postcolonial archive? Gender, collective memory and citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 29*(3), 739-757.

Meer, F. (1985). *Women in the apartheid society.* Retrieved from http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/women-apartheid-society-fatima-meer

Meth, P. (2010). Unsettling insurgency: Reflections on women's insurgent practices in South Africa. *Planning Theory and Practice, 11*(2), 241-263.

Miraftab, F. (2006). Feminist praxis, citizenship and informal politics: Reflections on South Africa's anti-eviction campaign. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 8*(2), 194-218.

Moane, G. (2003). Bridging the personal and the political: Practices for a liberation psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 31*(1-2), 91-101.

Modingoane, N. (2010, March 3). *Peace settling in Thembehlihle.* City of Johannesburg Public Liaison Department. Retrieved from http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4892&catid=197&Itemid=344

Montero, M. (2007). The political psychology of liberation: From politics to ethics and back. *Political Psychology, 28*(5), 517-533.

Murphy, E., & Dingwall. (2007). Informed consent, anticipatory regulation and ethnographic practice. *Social Science & Medicine, 65*, 2223–2234.

Ní Aoláin, F. (2012). Advancing feminist positioning in the field of transitional justice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice, 6*(2), 205-228.

O'Neill, P. (2002). Good intentions and awkward outcomes: Ethical gatekeeping in field research. In W. C. van den Hoonaard (Ed.), *Walking the tightrope: Ethical issues for qualitative researchers* (pp. 17-25). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30–61). New York, NY: Routledge.

Oomen, B. (2004). Vigilantism or alternative citizenship? The rise of Mapogo a Mathamaga. *African Studies, 63*(2), 153-171.

Orther, S. B. (1995). Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 37*(1), 173-193.

Parker, M. (2007). Ethnography/ethics. *Social Science & Medicine, 65*(1), 2248–2259.

Patai, D. (1994). US academics and third world women: Is ethical research possible? In S. B. Gluck & D. Patai (Eds.), *Women's words: The feminist practice of oral history* (pp. 137–153). New York, NY: Routledge.

Pedwell, C., & Whitehead, A. (2012). Affecting feminism: Questions of feeling in feminist theory. *Feminist Theory, 13*(2), 115-129.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(2), 175-196.

Primo, N. (1997). Women's emancipation: Resistance and empowerment. *Agenda, 13*(34), 31-44.

Puechguirbal, N. (2012). The cost of ignoring gender in conflict and post-conflict situations: A feminist perspective. *Amsterdam Law Forum, 4*(1), 4-19.

Punch, M. (1994). Politics and ethics in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 83-97). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ratele, K., Malherbe, N., Cornell, S., Day, S., Helman, R., Makama, R., & Dlamini, S. (2020). Elaborations on (a) decolonising Africa (n)-centred feminist psychology. *Psychology in Society, 59*, 1-19.

Richmond OP (2011) *A Post-Liberal Peace: The Local Infrapolitics of Peacebuilding*. London: Routledge.

Richter-Devroe, S. (2011). Palestinian women's everyday resistance: Between normality and normalisation. *Journal of Women's International Studies, 12*(2), 32-46.

Robins, S. (2008). Sexual politics and the Zuma rape trial. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 34*(2), 411-427.

Sabaratnam, M. (2013). Avatars of Eurocentrism in the critique of the liberal peace. *Security Dialogue, 44*(3), 259-278.

Sachs, A. (1990). Judges and gender: The constitutional rights of women in a post-apartheid South Africa. *Agenda, 6*(7), 1-11.

Schreiner, B., Mohapi, N., & Van Koppen, B. (2004). Washing away poverty: Water, democracy and gendered poverty eradication in South Africa. *Natural Resources Forum, 28*(3), 171-178.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts.* New Haven, CT: Yael University Press.

Scully, P. (1995). Rape, race, and colonial culture: the sexual politics of identity in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony, South Africa. *The American Historical Review, 100*(2), 335-359.

Seedat, M., Swart, L., & Lekoba, R. (2000). Injury and resilience in Thembelihle: Background, aims and methodology. *Community Report Series, 1*, 3-18.

Seigworth, G. J. & Gregg, M. (2010). An inventory of shimmers. In M. Gregg & G. J. Seigworth (Eds.), *The Affect Theory Reader* (pp. 1-28). Durham: Duke University Press.

Shefer, T., & Munt, S. R. (2019). A feminist politics of shame: Shame and its contested possibilities. *Feminism and Psychology*, *29*(2), 145-156.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information, 22*, 63-75.

Soyini Madison, D. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London, UK: Sage.

Spinoza, B. (1959). *Spinoza's ethics: And on the correction of the understanding* (trans. A Boyle). London, England: Everyman's Library.

Starhawk, M. (1987). Truth or dare: encounters with power, authority, and mystery. San Francisco, CA, USA: Harper Collins.

Statistics South Africa. (2011). *Census 2011*. Pretoria, South Africa: Statistics South Africa.

Stewart, L. (2014). Rights discourse and practices, everyday violence and social protests: Who are counted as subject and whose lives are real in the neo-colonial South African nation state? *Law, Democracy, & Development, 18*, 1-21.

Stoler, A. (2005) Affective states. In D. Nugent & J. Vincent (Eds.), *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics* (pp. 4-29). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Suffla, S., Malherbe, N., & Seedat, M. (2020). Recovering the everyday within and for decolonial peacebuilding through politico-affective space. In Y. G. Acar, S. M. Moss, & Ö.M. Uluğ (Eds.), *Researching Peace, Conflict, and Power in the Field* (pp. 343-364). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

The Department of Women. (2015). *The status of women in the South African economy*. Pretoria, South Africa: Republic of South Africa.

Thornberry, E. (2016). Rape, Race, and Respectability in a South African Port City: East London, 1870-1927. *Journal of Urban History, 42*(5), 863-880.

Thrift, N. (2004). Intensities of feeling: Towards a spatial politics of affect. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 86*(1), 57-78.

Van den Hoonaard, W. C. (2003). Is anonymity an artifact in ethnographic research?. *Journal of Academic Ethics, 1*(2), 141-151.

Väyrynen, T. (2004). Gender and UN peace operations: The confines of modernity. *International Peacekeeping, 11*(1), 125-142.

Veriava, F. (2006). *Access to education for learners in Thembelihle.* Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. Retrieved from http://www.ewisa.co.za/ewisawaterworks/misc/MunicipalDocuments/NCDisPixley_Ka_Seme/LMThembelihle/02775_thembelihle_02.pdf

Vincent, L. (2015). 'Tell us a new story': A proposal for the transformatory potential of collective memory projects. In P. Tabensky, & S. Matthews (eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South African higher education institutions* (pp. 21-44). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: UKZN Press.

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, V.A. (2013). "Everyday resistance": Exploration of a concept and its theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine, 1*, 1-46.

Walker, C. (1991). *Women and resistance in South Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: New Africa Books.

Watkins, M. (2015). Psychosocial accompaniment. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 3*(1), 324-341.

Watkins, M., & Shulman, H. (2008). Symptoms and psychologies in cultural context. In M. Watkins (Ed.), *Toward Psychologies of Liberation* (pp. 53-63). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weir, J. (2007). Chiefly women and women's leadership in pre-colonial southern Africa. In N. Gasa (Ed.), *Women in South African History: They remove boulders and cross rivers (pp. 3-19).* Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Wetherell, M. (2012). *Affect and emotion: A new social science understanding*. London, England: Sage.

Wetherell, M. (2015). Trends in the turn to affect: A social psychological critique. *Body & Society, 21*(2), 139-166.

Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism and literature*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, S. (2005). *Johannesburg's informal settlement plan: The view from Mandelaville and Thembelihle.* Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 2-33). London, UK: Sage.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1993). Gender and nation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 16*(4), 621-632.

STUDY I

THE STATE, GENDER INEQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

Abstract

Despite South Africa having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, research demonstrates the enormous divide that exists between the country's gender legislation and women's experiences of gender-based violence, economic inequality, and structural violence. State-controlled institutions, although charged with ensuring gender equality, often enact an everyday violence that further marginalises women. Marginalised women, who face this kind of violence, have shown to draw upon a myriad of strategies to resist, cope, survive and employ tactics of strategic reclamation. Using mobile ethnography, I examine the ways in which marginalised women do everyday resistance against the everyday violence of state-controlled institutions. I analysed the data using queer phenomenology. I identify four themes: *Whose Body Matters?, The Willful Body, Telling Stories about Bodies and Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting.* The study found that women employed a number of everyday resistance strategies, including, persistence, collective solidarity, collective storytelling, refusal and withdrawal. Although these strategies do not result in complete system transformation, they act to expand the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces in which women can move as well as improve their lives. Although these resistances do not fully transform systems of violence, they are important as they provide a mode of psychological holding within the everyday.

Keywords: everyday resistance; everyday violence; women; gender-based violence; state-controlled institutions

Introduction

"You know, we're here fighting for women, but women don't want to fight for themselves," the paramedic says to me, as he bandages up a woman named Miriam, who is sitting in the doorway of the ambulance. Miriam remains silent. Clutched in her hands are a bar of soap and a cloth. She was on her way home to clean up the wound herself. It is around midmorning on a spring Sunday morning, during a soccer event hosted as part of the Thembelihle Friendship and Hope Campaign. The tournament is hosted by the Unisa ISHS and various community-based organisations. The first game is underway. Girls under 17 compete on the red earth soccer grounds in Section F. The summer rains have not yet arrived to settle the swirling dust. During the morning, a conversation with Maseiso is interrupted by a colleague who asked me to attend to an incident of assumed domestic violence.

"Sometimes women can't fight back," I reply to the paramedic. In my quickness to respond to him, I overlook the various ways in which women enact their agency to 'fight back'. Perhaps, what I should have said, is that women do not always fight back in ways which have been dictated to them. When I had first arrived, the paramedic who had begun to unbandage Miriam's head encouraged me to "take a look." I am immediately angered: "I do not want to see." As Miriam and I leave for the hospital, the paramedic tells Miriam that she could possibly have a skull fracture or lose her vision. He impresses on her the importance of reporting to the police. "May we go to my friend's house first? I would like to drop these off," Miriam asks, gesturing to the soap and cloth. Along the length of the entire soccer field, we are catcalled. "I don't have papers[2]. I was going to go to the [Thembelihle] clinic tomorrow," Miriam tells me quietly on the walk to her house.

[2] South African ID document or a passport with a visa to live and work in South Africa.

Accompanied by Lisa and Anna, two members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum, we make our way to Lenasia South Community Health Centre (CHC). "Aye, Lens South is not so strict on papers," Anna tells the group. In my previous visits to Lenasia South CHC, the corridors and benches were filled with people. Now, a Sunday morning, the hospital is empty. Only a handful of people are waiting in the queue for casualty. Lisa, Anna and I wait on the vacant wooden benches that line the corridor, while Miriam waits in the queue at casualty to be seen to by a doctor. She may not be accompanied by anyone.

"*Ukuthi*[3], this is what we as the Women's Forum is supposed to do. We are supposed to help other women," Lisa tells me while we wait. While we sit and talk, Miriam returns. "Doctor says we must go to the Thuthuzela Centre[4]," Miriam tells us. The Thuthuzela Care Centre is located in a container outside the main building. Shortly after arriving there, we are referred back to casualty. Because Miriam was hit by her best friend's partner (in an altercation between her friend and her partner), she was told that it does not constitute domestic violence. Lisa and Anna try to help Miriam negotiate the confusing movement between the two buildings. We find ourselves, once again, sitting on the wooden benches while Miriam returns to casualty. Once Miriam is stitched up, we are referred to Chris Hani Baragwaneth Hospital – 25km away. The Lenasia CHC does not have the capacity on the weekend to check for a traumatic head injury. When we arrive at Baragwaneth, once again, Miriam cannot be accompanied into casualty. She is sent back - shortly after arriving - told that she did not need to come.

[3] isiZulu. That; so that; in that

[4] Thuthuzela Care Centres are one-stop facilities part of the national strategy to combat GBV. The centres aim to reduce secondary victimisation and build a case for the successful prosecution of perpetrators (South African Government, 2020a). The word Thuthuzela is an isiXhosa word that means comfort.

Miriam's story is one about the pain, shame and humiliation that is exerted onto the bodies of so many black women when encountering state-controlled institutions (see Kessi, 2019). The paramedic attempting to unbandage her in front of me acts serves as a violation of dignity, and his instruction for me to "look" render the pain of this black woman a spectacle for a white woman audience. This story talks to intersecting levels of violence. Miriam carries the wound of direct violence as we walk through the community, where we are catcalled. Miriam then encounters institutional violence as she enters into the different state-controlled space. We move through different levels of violence against women – direct violence, symbolic violence and institutional violence. However, Miriam's is also a story about the complex ways in which women resist these violent systems through their silence, refusal, solidarity and collaboration.

The above story holds several complexities for thinking and talking about the nexus between gender inequality and state-controlled institutions. Foremost, perhaps, is the emotional disregard of state-controlled systems and institutions that are mandated to address GBV. This was apparent in the paramedic's treatment of Miriam as an irrational subject who is without agency and who refuses to "fight for herself". While the refusal of victims of GBV to report incidences to the police has resulted in challenges in producing reliable statistics, there are a number of reasons that GBV victims do not report these crimes, including the ineffectiveness of police officers to assist victims substantively (Kasonga, 2018). Women are mandated to report GBV to particular state-controlled structures in order for the government to successfully address GBV. A refusal to do so is constructed as Miriam refusing to fight for herself. This, however, overlooks the ways in which state-controlled institutions revictimise GBV victims and that Miriam's silence and withdrawal becomes an act of agency.

Another complication that arises when seeking gender justice through state-controlled institutions can be observed in the obfuscation of hospital processes which move victims between different healthcare departments. Transportation costs and user fees can put health, legal and social services, such as the provincial hospital Chris Hani Baragwaneth Hospital, out of reach for many people (Foster, 2005; McLaren, Ardington, & Leibbrandt, 2014). A one-way taxi from Thembelihle to Lenasia CHC is R40, and making a full trip is R80. This amount of money is around 10% of the average monthly income for households in Thembelihle (see Statistics South Africa, 2011). The money required by Miriam to travel the 25km to access treatment, only to be turned away without receiving treatment, has a weighty financial and emotional cost. The state also contests the definition of GBV through the refusal of treating Maria at the Thuthuzela Care Centre.

In exploring the production of everyday violence and everyday resistance as they are constituted within particular spaces, I examine the stories of women who have encountered state-controlled institutions which are mandated to address gender injustices (e.g. the healthcare system; the magistrate's court; and the South African Police Service, or SAPS. I seek to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the everyday violence that women face, as well as the (sometimes subtle) resistance that women enact in relation to the violence enacted by state-controlled institutions through routine processes. Accordingly, the study does not focus only on the agency of women, nor does it position women as passive victims who are rendered helpless against larger social, economic and political configurations of power (Hart, 1991). Instead, it advances from the premise that there is not a single narrative under which all women's stories fall, and that the participants' stories demonstrate similarities as well as difference, particularly along raced, classed and gendered lines.

A Review of the Body of Literature

In what follows, I begin by briefly touching on the research literature on violence against women in South Africa. I then move on to examine the state. I then review state responses to GBV, and how the lack of meaningful redress in South Africa constitutes a form of everyday violence. Proceeding this, I discuss the healthcare system and everyday violence. Finally, I detail women's everyday resistance to these state-controlled institutions.

Understandings of Violence Against Women

Women living in South Africa face extraordinarily high levels of GBV, especially along raced and classed lines. In particular, the country sees some of the highest global rates of sexual and physical intimate partner violence (IPV) and non-partner sexual violence (Matzopoulos et al., 2019). In a study conducted by Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, and Dunkle (2011), 42% of men reported to having had committed some form of violence against their female partner, and one in three men reported to having raped a woman or girl. The most recent South African crime statistics (data sourced from South African Police Service, financial year 2018-2019) include: 179 683 contact crimes against women; 82 728 common assault; 54 142 assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm; 2 771 women were murdered; 3 445 had faced an attempted murder; and 52 420 cases of recorded sexual offences against women, including rape, attempted rape, sexual assault and contact sexual offences. The recorded cases of sexual offences and domestic violence go largely underreported. According to a study done by Gender Links, it is estimated that only 1 in 25 women report sexual violence, with 0.3% reporting domestic violence (Machisa, Jewkes, Morna, & Rama, 2011).

In Gauteng, the province in which my study is located, SAPS recorded 153 attempted murders for the 2019 period that were linked to domestic violence; 66 kidnappings linked with rape and

sexual assault, and 25 linked to domestic violence; 5 859 assaults with intent to cause grievous bodily harm (GBH) that were related to domestic violence; and 10 752 cases of sexual assault (South African Police Service, 2019). According to a study by Gender Links, more than half the women living in Gauteng (51.3%) have experienced some form of violence (emotional, economic, physical or sexual) in their lifetime, while 75.5% of men in Gauteng admit to committing some form of violent crime against women in their lifetimes (Machisa et al., 2011). Considering the gross levels of underreporting, statistics can only provide a partial profile of GBV.

In South Africa, drivers of men's perpetration of GBV has been extensively researched over the last 25 years (Gibbs et al., 2020). This research is vast, and draws from many different theoretical traditions, including systems theory, sociological theory, psychoanalytic theory, biological and psychobiological models, social learning, critical feminism, and socio-political theories (Gibbs et al., 2020). In a recent systematic review of GBV research, Gibbs and colleagues (2020) found that two approaches have predominated over how we understand drivers of GBV. The first draws on an ecological model, which seeks to explain how risk factors operate across multiple levels, including individual, relational, community and societal. For instance, in 2016, a research project undertaken by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) found that GBV is caused by an interplay between individual, community, cultural, religious and economic factors, all of which act across different levels of society. In its insistence that drivers of violence cannot be attributed to a single factor, the model is used for arguing that interventions should target multiple factors across various levels in order to achieve lasting change.

The second predominant approach examines how latent, more theoretical concepts, such as constructions of masculinity, drive GBV (see, e.g., Boonzaier, 2008; Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018; Jewkes, 2002; Van Niekerk, & Boonzaier, 2019). Scholars who draw on this approach tend to represent a greater diversity of theoretical traditions than those associated with the first approach. For example, Gibbs et al. (2020), in their review of the literature on violence against women, state that there are three underlying structural factors to GBV: patriarchal privilege, normative use of violence within interpersonal relationships, and poverty. These structural factors then act upon individual-level factors, including substance misuse, the increased risk of mental illness, relationship conflict and poor communication, and childhood neglect and abuse. Work undertaken by scholars such as Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2018), located in a more critical tradition, rely on intersectional feminism (Crenshaw, 1994) to examine violent men's lives for the purpose of informing GBV intervention programmes. This second approach also pays attention to marginalised men who face intersecting violences, including inequality, poverty and lack of access to resources. In this way, this approach does not examine men as 'perpetrators' and women as 'victims'. Rather, it looks to understand how broader structures of domination and inequity act to engender violence within our everyday realities.

Early research work on GBV focused predominantly on women as victims of GBV. Although this framing was necessary to bring attention to the realities of women enduring GBV, this myopic approach deflected attention from men, the predominant perpetrators of violence against women (Boonzaier, 2008). Over the last decade, the research and interventionist gaze has shifted incrementally from women to men, especially black African men (Mfecane, 2018). Over the last two decades, critical scholars such as Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2018), Lau and Stevens (2012), Moolman (2013), Ouzgane and Morell (2005), Shefer, Ratele, and Strebel (2007), and Ratele (2016) have provided significant insights into men and masculinities in

relation to GBV within the South African context. Scholars such as these rely on historicised analyses, and thus locate GBV within histories of colonialism and apartheid. There has been a shift away from viewing men as the 'problem' (Peacock & Levack, 2004), and instead attempting to understand them as 'partners' in research and interventions. While interventions which aim to transform dominant constructions of masculinity in order to reduce rates of violence have been somewhat effective (Mfecane, 2018), Ratele (2016) argues that South African academic scholarship has underperformed in this regard. He argues that there is a tendency to uncritically apply theories and tools that have been developed within the Global North to the South African context, regardless of their applicability (see also Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2018; Mfecane, 2018).

Despite some notable exceptions, van Niekerk and Boonzaier (2019) argue that GBV has been examined primarily from a public and epidemiological perspective which focuses on drivers of violence. They maintain that the "cause and risk" language of public health research inadequately captures the complexities of GBV, and in this way can act to pathologise already marginalised groups, and/or to dislocate GBV from its sociohistorical context. Therefore, there needs to be more focus on critical approaches to GBV.

This study, embedded within a critical tradition, seeks to situate GBV within complex and multiple structures of violence. However, the study shifts the gaze onto institutional violence enacted by the state. The next section discusses the formation of the state as embedded within histories of colonialism and apartheid, and how it subsequently constructs citizenship and gender.

Understanding the Body of the State

The socio-political landscape of South Africa, both historically and currently, constructs gender at two levels: at the level of the state (the authorised public space), and in the private sphere (Bondi, 1998). In noting the interconnectedness between public and private spaces (see Bondi, 1998; Duncan, 1996; Gouws, 1999; McEwan, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1993), we are able to examine how the public state is materialised in the everyday, private sphere (Hyndman, 2001; Koopman, 2011). Processes of citizenship, both formal and informal, in post-apartheid South Africa need to be critically examined (McEwan, 2001). Citizenship is not only constructed at the level of provincial and national government, but "is constructed and exercised in a number of material and metaphorical spaces" (McEwan, 2001, p. 51). For the purpose of this study, these spaces include state-controlled institutions mandated to address gender inequality, that is, the healthcare systems, magistrate's court and SAPS.

The liberal state, as per social contract, is required to demonstrate its commitment to human rights, and work towards social justice (Moyo, Khonje & Brobbey, 2017). The state is both theoretically and empirically complex, and clearly demarcated boundaries between different aspects of the state are difficult to discern (Connell, 1990). The state, in this sense, should be viewed as a process as opposed to a fixed object. Divisions across boundaries of race, class and gender result in differential access to resources. As such, people are subject to differential procedures of inclusion and exclusion (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 2001). State-controlled institutions in South Africa remain shaped by the legacy of colonialism and apartheid and have thus inherited particular modalities of violent statehood (Gqola, 2007). It is therefore imperative that we examine how the divisions across raced and gendered lines come to be enacted as a process within state-controlled institutions.

People and institutions are deeply embedded within the socio historical. Rights-based rhetoric in South Africa has failed to transform gendered relations and create equal citizenship for women in the social, political and economic arenas (McEwan, 2001). Through everyday interaction and contact that takes place within particular spaces, institutions (re)produce the imprints of injustice and inequality which are embedded within histories of colonialism and apartheid. Within this context, structures of injustice and inequality, that are deeply raced and gendered, govern the modes of operation of institutional structures. This remains true for South African state-controlled institutions, despite legislation aimed at achieving social justice being put into place. Histories of colonialism and apartheid are encoded into bodies of both institutions and people, even if the history passes out of memory (Ahmed, 2014). These memories are held in the ways in which people and institutional structures do or do not relate with one another.

The Everyday Violence of the State

The failure of government institutions and policies to address both direct and structural violence against women (Moyo et al., 2017) constitutes a kind of everyday violence (see Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Everyday violence can, according to Scheper-Hughes (1992), be defined as the normalised micro-level interactions that enact violence, either directly or indirectly, upon individuals. Despite the many legal safeguards and interventions implemented by both state and non-state actors, high rates of violence against women living in South Africa persist (Moyo et al., 2017). Although South Africa has one of the most politically progressive constitutions in the world, research has found that an enormous divide that exists between the country's gender legislation and women's lived experiences of gender-based violence, economic inequality, and structural violence, all of which bar them from full participation in social and economic life (see Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Sachs, 1990; Schreiner et al., 2004;

Stewart, 2014). Furthermore, institutional failures to adequately address gender equality and direct violence against women result in violence being authorised in society (Moyo et al., 2017). As such, everyday violence is embedded in societal structures and relationships. It is performed across raced, gendered and classed lines in ways that are invisible and normalised (see Bourgois, 2009; Krieger, Rowley, Herman, Avery, & Phillips, 1993; Quesada, Hart & Bourgois, 2011). I do, however, note that such a critique places a heavy burden on policy and legislation as drivers of change, and that there is a broader rhetoric that governments and other entities promulgate in the service of direct and structural violence.

Everyday violence operates within the ordinary and mundane rituals of everyday life that bring people into contact with the health, legal and social systems of the state (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Within these institutional spaces, bodies that are marked in particular ways by race, class and gender are routinely abused, violated and lost (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Indeed, these institutions do not stand separately from colonial axes of power. They are embedded within social relations that then act to control and regulate embodied subjectivity (Ahmed, 2004).

Although South Africa has taken a multi-sectorial approach, aiming to unite legal, health, social, educational and law enforcement services, gender inequality remains pervasive (Moyo et al., 2017). Government institutions involved in GBV intervention include the SAPS Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Units (FCS), the Sexual Offences and Community Affairs Unit in the National Prosecuting Authority, Thuthuzela Care Centres, Sexual Offences Courts, and Rapid Response Teams for abuse against LGBTIQ persons. The Department of Social Development (DSD) manages the GBV Command Centre, including a toll-free phone line and a National Emergency Response Team, temporary safe care facilities for children, foster care placements, shelters for abused women, and Khuseleka One Stop

centres. Multiple organizations also support GBV prevention work, including: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development, Black Sash, People Opposing Women Abuse, Sonke Gender Justice and Rape Crisis. Global funders have also turned their gaze towards addressing GBV in South Africa. GBV is located at the intersection of multiple forms of violence (van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2019), and as such institutions often enact another dimension of violence. State-controlled institutions therefore not only fail to address gender inequality, but act to maintain such inequality through enacting its own violences.

A primary arm through which gender inequality is addressed is through legislation and the court systems. According to Albertyn (2007), the Constitutional Court is mandated to generate legal solutions to gender equality. Two of South Africa's more progressive laws around gender justice include the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Act 32 of 2007. The law, however, is not a fixed, pre-existing rhetoric. Each social site at which the law is enacted can be productive, rather than reflective of, dominant power relations (Ahmed, 2004). The courts, therefore, can act in ways that either constrain or enhance gender justice (Albertyn, 2007). In this sense, the law is imbued with contradiction, and acts to negotiate different power relations (Ahmed, 2004). Certainly, courts can be limited in how they further gender justice by meeting institutional concerns, the ability of magistrates to recognise the multiple systematic inequalities entrenched in societal structures, and the ability of judges to develop a jurisprudence to implement transformative solutions (Albertyn, 2007).

The primary means through which violence against women in South Africa is prevented through a combination of awareness campaigns and community-engagement interventions, alongside punitive action against perpetrators. When GBV cases are reported, punitive action

is rarely taken. For example, although over 41,000 rapes were reported to SAPS in 2015/2016 (Africa Check, 2016), only 14% of perpetrators faced conviction (Kapp, 2006). Fear, shame, re-traumatisation, and a lack of trust in the criminal justice system are just some of the factors that discourage people from reporting sexual violence (Naidoo, 2013). The legislation, policy, coalition-building and programmes that have been put in place to curb GBV, however progressive they appear to be, have not translated into meaningful redress (Moyo et al., 2017). These efforts have been hampered by a lack of a comprehensive national strategy to combat violence against women, funding issues, organisations working in isolation, and a lack of transformation of the underlying societal structures (Jung Park, Fellar & Dangor, 2000; Moyo et al., 2017).

Despite South Africa's legislative commitment to addressing the myriad of issues surrounding gender inequality, there remains a lack of policy and institutional coordination, limited funding and lack of political will (Moyo et al., 2017). The National Department of Social Development has conducted victim satisfaction surveys on behalf of the Justice Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster to assess, evaluate and monitor ongoing services provided to victims of crime, rendered by the different Departments in the criminal justice system. Regarding the implementation of GBV services, the survey found that that there is a lack of understanding and empathy in GBV cases by magistrates; disabled victims are marginalised by court officials; long waiting time for the police to respond to incidences of violence; child victims complained of bribery and corruption within police force; and long waiting time for ambulances and nursing staff (DSD, 2017). The Diagnostic Review of the State Response to Violence against Women and Children, as commissioned by Cabinet, identified gaps in efforts to address violence against women and children, specific to the Response, Care and Support mechanism (DPME, 2016). These include a lack of specialist skills and limited early intervention, care and

support services, as well as programmes that address community change and women's economic inequality.

Rights and legislation are not enough to transform the deeply entrenched inequalities that stem from the longstanding history of colonial violence and dispossession (McEwan, 2001). Bills like the Constitution do not reflect reality, but instead speak to an imagined way in which South Africans should relate to one another (Gqola, 2007). It is, therefore, not enough only to examine legislation and policy. It is crucial that we also analyse the social, political and economic relationships between social groups, as well as the enduring colonial structures of power that continue to mediate how people can or cannot inhabit psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional space within society (see McEwan, 2001; Staeheli, 1994).

Scholars have argued that socially constructed sexual difference, along with sexual violence, are central to the (re)production of a colonial patriarchy (see Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995; Thornberry, 2016). Dominant constructions of sexual violence are intimately linked to ideas around respectability, which is, itself, racialised in particular ways. Black women were (and continue to be) constructed as hypersexual, and resultantly, unrapable (see Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995). Today, colonial constructions of blackness, whiteness and gender are noted in women's lived experience and material realities - which are embedded within state-controlled institutions - as well as in their everyday resistance to structural, direct and epistemic violence. It is because the contemporary South African state has not meaningfully responded to GBV that it continues to positively authorise violence against women, especially black women. As argued by Lugones (2008, 2010), gender (and the ways by which it is intertwined with race) is central to the colonial production of power (also see Hassim, 2014). That is, the social and institutional

complicity in the ongoing, high levels of GBV should be examined against its sociohistorical context (Coetzee & du Toit, 2018).

Since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, government has failed to implement meaningful redress regarding gender inequity. After 1994, there was a spike in reporting of rape cases by black women. There was a hope that under the new administration, women were more likely to achieve gender justice (Gqola, 2015). There are several examples of how the system failed to be transformed. Coetzee and du Toit (2018) highlight that Thabo Mbeki's administration failed to address the staggering GBV rates, while delaying the reformation of the 1957 Sexual Offences Act (starting in 1999), which was only promulgated in 2009. This reformation eventually took place because of renewed social pressure after Jacob Zuma's rape case in 2006. Both the delay in reforming the 1957 Sexual Offences Act, and the fact that Zuma won the country's presidential election after his highly public rape trial demonstrate, according to Coetzee and du Toit (2018), the South African state's lack of political will to meaningfully addressing GBV.

Since 2018, there has been a resurgence in activism around GBV. On 1 August 2018, #theTotalShutdown Women's March Against Gender Based Violence, led by an intersectional group of women and gender non-conforming people in Southern Africa, marched to the Union Buildings to deliver their 24 demands to government. Among these demands was a call to increase political will to end GBV, to refuse to hire any person convicted or suspected of GBV, to review past national action plans and why they failed, and to train legislators to enact the law in ways that lead to significant redress (#theTotalShutdown, 2018). Central to these demands is the development of a National Action Plan on GBV. As a result, a national summit against GBV was convened in November 2018 and a 16-resolution declaration was signed by

the President. These resolutions include a call for community and political leadership to eradicate GBV, establish a multi-stakeholder council, review all of the laws and policies related to GBV in order to create a more victim-centred and responsive system, finalise outstanding legislation related to GBV, and ensure that all services for GBV do not cause secondary victimisation (Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide, 2018). The government has since drafted the National Strategic Plan (NSP) on Gender-based Violence and Femicide, which aims to deliver a comprehensive framework for guiding a national response to the high rates of violence experienced by women and gender non-conforming people (South African Government, 2020b).

In August 2019, one year after #theTotalShutdown march, the murder of a 19-year-old woman named Uyinene Mrwetyana (who was one among 30 women in South Africa killed by their partners that month - some of these women who made news headlines were Jess Hess, Nhlanhla Mphahlele, Meghan Cremer, and Leighandre Jegels (Theletsane, 2019) highlighted the South African government's continued inaction around GBV. Added to this, government also displayed problematic understandings of GBV, including the use of victim-blaming language (Moosa, 2019). As seen below, the Minister of Transport | Mr Fix (2019) tweets that "Women must not succumb/tolerate abuse" and the South African Government (2019) calls on "women to speak out and now allows themselves to become victims by keeping quiet." Although violence against women is condemned in the rhetoric from government, these tweets demonstrate the state personnel continue to situate women as primarily responsible for not becoming victims of GBV. This, in turn, abdicates the responsibility of government and other institutions to take responsibility for GBV. The government also denies its complicity in the continuation of GBV, seen when the Minister of Transport, Fikile Mbalula (2019), tweeted "But to suggest govt support rapists is more than drunken stupor." These tweets were later

deleted. The tweets demonstrate a kind of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990), where violence against women is legitimised through rhetoric that women tolerate/succumb to violence and do not speak out.

(Screenshots of deleted tweets - Moosa, 2019)

Although women face everyday violence when accessing institutions for recourse for incidents of GBV, or access their reproductive rights, women are not passive victims to these institutional structures. This is perhaps most apparent in organised social movements, such as #theTotalShutdownMovement which demonstrate that women are not fully determined by violent institutions and can act to restructure these institutional spaces. The next section discusses women's everyday resistance in relation to institutional spaces.

The Healthcare System and Everyday Violence

Everyday violence is not only enacted through legislation and institutions mandated to enact legislation, such as SAPS and courts. Healthcare inequalities in South Africa are extensive (Ataguba, Akazili, & McIntyre, 2011). Indeed, those who are socio-economically disadvantaged are barred from accessing equitable health care through various social dimensions, including gender, geographical, social and economic distance (Deogaonkar,

2004). Healthcare inequalities in South Africa, along raced, gendered and classed lines, are extensive (Ataguba, Akazili, & McIntyre, 2011). Despite contemporary South Africa's move towards providing accessible healthcare, racial disparities continue to affect access to healthcare (McLaren et al., 2014).

The types of healthcare in South Africa are clinics, Community Health Centres (CHC) and hospitals (which are either district, regional, provincial and central). This is a reality faced by many of the women whose access to health and state resources has been curbed by a lack of monetary resources. Under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), there was a shift away from large urban hospitals to a community-based comprehensive primary health care (PHC) policy, which focused on the building and upgrading of clinics (Foster, 2005). According to Foster (2005), this move was in line with global guidelines for 'developing' countries in the 1980s. While PHC relied in large part on social justice rhetoric which centralised community participation, this fell short in practice. Furthermore, the implementation of PHC was hampered by an economic recession as well as South Africa's move towards neoliberal economic policies which, in the light of growing economic inequities, made community participation more difficult to implement (Foster, 2005). Even when healthcare systems are free, other costs, such as the time and monetary cost of travel, place healthcare out of reach for many (McLaren et al., 2014).

Despite the move towards neoliberal policies that resulted in the commodification of basic services, South Africa's Department of Health did not waiver in their commitment to free basic health care (Foster, 2005). The long queues for healthcare are a testament to how overburdened these clinics are. Added to this, limited health budget means that quality healthcare is not ensured for many of South Africans. Resultantly, nurses are unable to develop positive

relationships with the patients (Foster, 2005). The proposed National Health Insurance (NHI) act proposes to alleviate these shortcomings by providing all South Africans with essential healthcare regardless of their employment status.

Everyday Resistance

Marginalised women, however, are not passive receivers of this everyday violence enacted by state-controlled structures. While it is imperative to acknowledge the traumatic effect of GBV as well as the violence of state-controlled institutions that are meant to address this trauma, it is also important to acknowledge women's agency and resistance in in the face of unequal power relations (van Schalkwyk, Boonzaier & Gobodo-Madikizela, 2016). South Africa's rich history of collective resistance is proliferated with accounts of women's participation in political protest (Britton, 2006; Walker, 1991), much of which is directed at political transformation at the level of the state as well as civil society (Yuval-Davis, 1993). One of the more recent gender specific movements in South Africa is aforementioned #theTotalShutdown. This movement emerges within the context of #FeesMustFall and ongoing calls to decolonise South African society. In each of these examples, direct collective resistance is enacted against institutional structures that are deeply embedded within histories of colonialism and apartheid. These movements also demonstrate that South African women continue to redefine feminism, leadership, and power within their particular socio-historic context (Britton, 2006).

Law and legality, the primary mechanisms through which GBV is addressed in South Africa, act as a gendering process that differentiates bodies as they are located within a specific socio-historical context (Ahmed, 2004; Gqola, 2007). While government interventions for GBV appear to adhere to "the liberal universalistic concepts of truth and justice" (Alcoff, 1999, p. 15), the reality demonstrates that notions of truth and justice tend to hinge on colonial axes of

power. There is a difficult and fractured relationship between law and its enactment. Through the examination of the relationship between law and the enactment thereof, and everyday resistance, we can theorise about how the law acts to shape and differentiate bodies, and how these bodies are not fully determined by the law (Ahmed, 2004). Like the state, the law represents process rather than a fixed entity. That is, the actions of everyday resistance can act to reshape the processes of the state and law, and work to increase the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces which marginalised women can occupy.

The current iteration of South Africa juridical systems is embedded within histories of colonialism and apartheid. Such a history repeats itself in the enactment of justice for GBV. Through the law, gender can be contested, that is, the law is not gendered but contains gendering processes. The law is thus an open structural process through which the law acts to gender bodies in particular, but not determining, ways (Ahmed, 2004; Eisenstein, 1988). Oyěwùmí (1997) states that colonial policies, laws and practices embedded within patriarchal social and legal frameworks of Western society act to solidify the inferiority of women in what were once more egalitarian societies – a framework through which women continue to be interpreted.

Looking beyond formal social movements, researchers have highlighted the multiple, plural and contradictory ways in which everyday resistance is enacted (see Abu-Lughod, 1985, 1990; Mamdani, 1996; Meth, 2010; Scott, 1990; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Marginalised women act in various and often constrained ways to expand and reshape the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces in which they can move (see Bayat, 1997, 2000; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Through their everyday resistance, marginalised women highlight how normalised, everyday violence have become normalised, invisiblised and

naturalised. The immense power that state-controlled institutions wield can make the everyday resistance enacted by these women appear invisible, without concern for transformation, complex and contradictory (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Considering this, while it is important not to entirely focus on women's victimhood, it is also imperative to locate women's resistance and agency in relation to the social and material realities of women's oppression (van Schalkwyk et al., 2016).

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates

An important theoretical coordinate of this study is the production of physical and social space, which is crucial to ethnographic method and practice. This links with the conceptual framework outlined in the introduction of this dissertation: liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies. This study zooms in on the work done by Massey (1994) and Lefebvre (1991) on the production of space.

By examining the production of space, I approach this study not as a bonded unit, but as a nodal point of interconnection in time-space, underpinned by a relational production of power (Massey, 1994). This is to say, by showing the processes of production of spaces, places and persons, we are able to probe into complex sets of between?. The focus of this study thus concerns not only what is happening in a specific place, but also how this place connects with what is happening globally. Added to this, the production of race, class and gender is always located within a particular spatiality that is influenced by histories of colonialism (see Lugones, 2010; Massaro & Williams, 2013). Accordingly, this study not only focuses on women, but also on the racialised, classed, sexualised, gendered and otherwise excluded spaces which

geopolitical analyses have previously silenced in conventional analysis (Massaro & Williams, 2013).

In order to analyse how women resist, challenge and rewrite geopolitical relations, this study draws on Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space. This theory posits that the production space is inherently social. Lefebvre's (1991) work on the production of space has three central concepts: conceived space, lived space and perceived space. Firstly, *representation of space* refers to a conceptualised space, within which power relations are imbedded. Lefebvre (1991) states that this is a *conceived space*, where ideology, power and knowledge reside. Examples of conceived space include state institutions, industrial space and spaces of capital generation. Conceived space represents the dominant spaces in society in which hegemony is (re)produced and the social relations of the production of space are imposed. It is within conceived spaces that we find capital, the state and those who wield power within society. *Spaces of representation* or *lived space* are the everyday, lived experiences of space - including everyday spaces, such as shops and homes. *Perceived space* is tied to spatial practices which structure people's lived reality and perceptions of the world. It is critical to understand how the production of space merges with the arenas of everyday life. Conceived, lived and perceived space are deeply interconnected, meaning that of everyday life is central to how we understand the production of space.

Through the examination of conceived spaces - such as state-controlled institutions - and marginalised women's experience of accessing these spaces, we can examine the everyday violence enacted by state-controlled institutions, as well as how marginalised women enact everyday resistance against this violence. In this way, we are able to trace emergent forms of

power, oppression, and resistance as they emerge in the interactions between marginalised women and state-controlled institutions.

Aims and Objectives

In this study, I draw upon ethnographic data to examine women's everyday resistance to everyday violence that has been enacted by state-controlled institutions responsible for societal and institutional reform towards gender justice. This study pays particular attention to the production of institutional space. In understanding the personal as political (see Hanisch, 1970), I subscribe to the notion that power relations embedded within state-controlled institutions are present in everyday life and are felt in people's personal experiences (Connell, 1990). State-controlled institutions are often violent spaces that act to discipline subjects and regulate embodied subjectivity. Considering this, and drawing on the theoretical coordinates and above literature, the following questions guided my study:

1. How do state-controlled institutions perform everyday violence in relation to women?
2. How do women experience state-controlled institutions in the everyday?
3. How do women enact everyday resistance against state-controlled institutions?

Method

In this study, I use mobile ethnography as my mode of data collection. The data is analysed with queer phenomenological analysis.

Data Collection and Procedure. As part of a broader ethnographic study, between 2018 and early 2020, I held weekly sessions with seven women who were living in Thembelihle. The time that we spent together was not consistent. Some weeks I would spend more time with the

participants than others. In the present study I will focus on the mobile ethnography component of my work with these seven women. Novoa (2015) defines mobile ethnography as "a mobile participant-observation with a particular focus on mobile phenomena" (p. 100). Mobile ethnography finds its roots within the work by George Marcus in the nineties – particularly his work on multi-sited ethnographic work (Marcus, G. 1995, 1998) – and was coined mobile ethnography ten years later by Sheller and Urry (2006). The move towards mobile ethnography is embedded within the "new mobilities paradigm" within the social sciences (Novoa, 2015). The new mobilities paradigm explores the movement of people, ideas and things and the wider social implications of these movements (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The ways in which these mobilities intersect produces a pattern of social and economic life (Hanam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006).

Mobile ethnography combines two of the main data collection methods of ethnographic research: participant observation and informal interviews (Brown & Durrheim, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). Mobile ethnography involves following participants on their mobile journeys with a specific focus on mobility, both in its physicality and in its theoretical underpinnings (Novoa, 2015). That is, what allows for, hinders or complicates movement, how movement is felt and thought about, and how individuals inhabit mobility (Novoa, 2015).

This method allows researchers to explore participants' perceptions of their environment, their spatial practices, biographies, their social architecture, and their social realms (Kusenbach, 2003). This method acts as a bridge between participant observation and interviews, and accesses participant's spatial practices *in situ* (Kusenbach, 2003). Mobile ethnography allows for the researcher to experience the texture of life in movement (Novoa, 2015). This study

undertakes mobile ethnography within small-scale geographies – that is, movement within and around Thembelihle, and to nearby state-controlled spaces.

My data consisted of transcripts of my conversations with participants, as well as field notes detailing my observations during these discussions. I accompanied the participants on participant-led walks through Thembelihle, as well as on journeys to institutional spaces, such as Lenasia South CHC, different clinics, South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), Lenasia Magistrate Court, the municipal offices and the Lenasia SAPS offices. The predominant focus of my study draws from my accompanying participants to state-controlled spaces, and the subsequent group dialogues where participants reflected on entering into these spaces. My mobile interviews took between thirty minutes to six hours.

Data Analysis. The data was analysed using queer phenomenology. The phenomenological method, having roots in early 20th century European philosophy, is concerned with thick description and close analysis of lived experience. Phenomenology is meant to disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions for the purpose of providing deeper analysis. As a philosophical orientation and analytic frame, phenomenology states that the world is understood through embodied experience (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Therefore, a close examination of how people move through space and time allows for the creation of meaning around a certain event or experience (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Queer phenomenology, according to Ahmed (2006), is concerned with how bodies become gendered, sexualised and racialised in the way that they can (or cannot) extend into psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces. Located within post-colonialism, critical race theory, as well as feminist and queer studies, queer phenomenology examines how race, space and gender are intrinsically bound together (Ahmed, 2006; Massey, 1994). Here, space is not understood as rigid or fixed.

Ahmed (2006) argues that the ways by which bodies extend into space can create new contours of liveable space that can result in the extension of the space in which marginalised women occupy, or it can reduce the space in which they occupy. Indeed, bodies both shape and are shaped by the space that they occupy. Histories of colonialism are (re)produced in both domestic and institutional space and continues to demarcate what is and what is not in reach for different bodies and remain an ongoing project that continues to (re)produce and orientate bodies in social space in ways that are marked by gender, race, class, age and ability, all of which affect how these bodies inhabit space (Ahmed, 2004, 2006).

Taking a subjectivist approach, by examining the lived experiences we are able to gain insights into how race, gender and class constitute everyday embodied experiences and social interactions (Ahmed, 2006; Alcoff, 1999). An examination of the phenomenology of race, class and gender allows us to see how bodies are orientated to objects as well as other bodies, and how bodies become racialised and gendered in ways that do and do not take up physical and social space (Ahmed, 2006). Everyday resistance encompasses routine actions that are often invisible or mundane, but that nonetheless act to extend and reshape physical and social space to accommodate bodies that are marked in particular ways by race and gender.

This study was broadly guided by the analytic strategy outlined by Willig (2013) for Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. The first stage of data analysis involved my emersion in the data. I undertook such emersion through transcribing the data, writing down participant observations, and continually (re)reading these texts. I selected data generated from physical trips to state-controlled spaces with the participants, as well as discussions I had with the participants about these spaces. I then developed unstructured notes, reflecting on my initial thoughts and observations. These notes included observations, questions, links to research

literature and conversations with my supervisors, initial analytic comments and reflective commentary. While, traditionally, phenomenological analysis seeks to bracket off the researcher in order to accentuate the participant's experience, this study rejects notions of un-reflexive objectivism (Pillow, 2003). As such, this first stage was also used to note uncomfortable reflexivity (as mentioned in the Introduction section) (Pillow, 2003). As I was continuing data collection throughout this process, these notes informed the data collection process, allowing me to think through my engagement with the participants.

The second stage of the data analysis required clustering the data into emergent themes (Willig, 2013). Drawing on queer phenomenology, these clusters of meaning were informed by examining how the participants extended into space, how differences affected the ways that they could take up space, and how they oriented themselves, objects and others within these spaces (Ahmed, 2006). That is, how do the participants' point of arrival as black, indigent women in state-controlled institutions shape their lived experience of this space?

The third stage of the analysis involved providing structure to the analysis, allowing clusters of meaning identified in the previous stage to be thought of in relation to one another (Willig, 2013). Van Manen (1990) describes the process of doing phenomenological analysis as a writing exercise, which involves iterative processes of writing and rewriting. The researcher's analysis then becomes a story that aims to capture elements of lived experience (albeit partially and always incompletely). This third stage involves an unsettling of taken-for-granted assumptions and seeks to reorient the researcher (and reader) to new possibilities of understanding (Willig, 2013). Willig (2013) states that in Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, the researcher typically draws up a table of the emergent themes and preserves the participants' voices as they are. No analytic comment is typically further made. Willig (2013)

does, however, note that some scholars go beyond this by contributing their analytic voices. I deviate from Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis as I do not use a table of emergent themes for the reason that it fails to capture the complexity of ethnographic data. I have also opted to tell stories, as discussed in the Introduction. I draw on the theoretical coordinates outlined above to layer the analysis, with specific emphasis on power and space.

Everyday Resistances to Everyday Violence: Examining Bodies as they Extend into Space

Drawing on mobile ethnographic data, in this section, I present my analysis of the participants' experiences of state-controlled institutions, including the clinics, hospitals, SAPS and the magistrate's court. My analysis is focused on four themes, each of which details the myriad of ways in which state-controlled institutions enact everyday violence, as well as how participants resisted this violence. The first theme, named *Whose Body Matters?* concerns accessing reproductive rights through public healthcare. This theme details how the participants are stripped of dignity, respect and/or privacy within these spaces. The theme further speaks to the participants' withdrawal, refusal, collective storytelling and (re)imagining public health spaces as a form of everyday resistance. The second theme, *The Willful Body*, speaks to the obfuscated processes of SAPS and the magistrate's court in instances of direct violence. The theme draws on Ahmed's (2014) concept of the "willful subject" who persists - despite the everyday violence enacted by these spaces - as a form of everyday resistance. The third theme, *Telling Stories about Bodies* denotes the ways in which the participants speak about episodes of direct violence, and how they navigate and experience the state-controlled spaces that are tasked with addressing this violence. The fourth theme, *Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting*, concerns how institutions enact everyday violence through extended waiting times, loss of patient files,

and obscure processes. The theme details how participants persist and bear witness to themselves and others despite the institutions forgetting of them.

Whose Body Matters?

The group of women from the Thembelihle Women's Forum sit in the Unisa ISHS boardroom talking about the challenges facing women in Thembelihle, as well as possible solutions to these challenges. This meeting aims to explore the different possible objectives of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. Lungile recounts a conversation that she has had with a nurse at the Thembelihle Clinic, "Sometimes we have challenges, like when we go to a clinic, the person that will give you pills will give you challenges. Like in a way that next time you don't want to come back. I think this thing is between you and a nurse, not you and everyone else. The nurse should talk to everyone politely because most of the time- I mean, I experience it- I went and they were like, 'No, why would you want to do this thing? Aren't you married?' It's not- It's not her place to ask me that. I came to do this thing. By her saying that, everyone knew what I want[ed] to do. So, I was like, no, I'm not going to go back there. So even there, the way they treat us, it has a huge impact."

The clinic is situated at the corner of Volta Street and the main road that runs through the middle of Thembelihle. Thembelihle is serviced by three clinics. Two clinics are located within Thembelihle, and with a third, larger one, located 4,5km away from the community. It is also serviced by the Lenasia South CHC, which is 8km outside of Thembelihle. For needs that cannot be serviced either by the clinics or nearby CHC, community members tend to utilise Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital, a provincial hospital which is also the largest in Africa.

“Like me, I wanted to change [from] the [contraception injection] to the pill. I wanted the pill, because [the injection] was making me sick. Very sick. But they told me that, ‘Why do you want to change the-’. Now I don’t use anything. Aye, I’m just me. I just left it,” Lindokhule adds to the conversation. “Mm, it’s a risk,” I reply. The refusal to access sexual health services, although a resistance, has material consequences. “Ja, so we should also [be] respected, regardless of going to public [institutions],” Lungile says emphatically. The emphasis here is not on private or public care, but on system transformation that respects all citizens, that is, on care itself. “So, they don’t respect us,” Lindokhule agrees. “They also respect those people going to private. But the public ones. People don’t have the voices to view their view, you know. The nurse goes ‘You know if you came for pap smear?’ asking many questions, and not even in a private way or in a respectful way,” Lungile continues. The group sounds their agreement. “They’ll ask you so everyone knows [why] you came there by the clinic. That thing is if it’s a turn off to me, it’s a turn off to everyone. You know what, I’m not going back there. At the same time, I can’t afford the private. I have to go there to the public. So, these are parts of the challenges that we face as women. You don’t go there, and the next thing is you become pregnant. Because of the resources that are around us- those staff don’t respect people, so those are one of the challenges that we as women are facing.”

The above story reflects on reproductive rights and public healthcare. At the beginning of the story, Lungile reflects on the challenges facing women in Thembelihle. Through the judgemental actions and refusal of reproductive rights by the healthcare worker, the public clinic space invades the Lungile’s dignity and body. The Health Professions Act was implemented “to ensure that persons registered in terms of this Act behave towards users of health services in a manner that respects their constitutional rights to human dignity, bodily and psychological integrity and equality” (Health Professions Act 56 of 1974, c. I, s. 3[o]). In

practice, this does not always happen. Lungile highlights this by stating that “the person that will give you pills will give you challenges”. This situates healthcare professionals as wielding both the power to provide health justice as well as bar access to healthcare services. This is linked to Foster’s (2005) research which states a lack of public healthcare resources negatively affects the relationship between nurses and patients.

Sen and Govender (2015) state that reproductive rights are central to other health outcomes, bodily autonomy and integrity, and choice related to sexuality and reproduction. Access to reproductive health is cited by the participants as a central challenge to women residing in Thembelihle and surrounds. The “pill” that the nurse is able to prescribe to Lungile is the birth control pill. Although the birth control pill has been instrumental in the advancement of reproductive justice, it can also be linked to eugenic practices, steeped in racist and classist ideology, such as the forced sterilisations of HIV-positive women in 2002 in South Africa (Bi & Klutsy, 2015; Mabuza, 2020). Therefore, denying reproductive health and forcing the usage thereof speaks to modes of gender inequality which are informed by racism and classism.

The access to health services currently available to the participants is impinged by treatment that reduces the dignity and humanity of those whom the health care systems are designed to serve. Women’s bodies, here, are said to be constructed by the health care worker as belonging to men (“‘No, why would you want to do this thing? Aren’t you married?”’). This everyday, patriarchal violence is enacted by the state through everyday modality of relationality that is established between women and nurses. This rhetoric within the health sector constitutes a form of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990) which relegates reproductive health as a family matter where the man has control of a women’s body. The regulation of reproductive decisions at an institutional and systematic level has material consequences on the everyday lived realities of

women, such as discouraging people seeking reproductive healthcare. Lindokhule corroborates this story with her own, stating that "But they told me that, 'Why do you want to change the-'". Here, Lindokhule's reproductive decisions are not constructed as being determined by a man, but rather by the state. The healthcare worker does patriarchal work as a custodian of her decisions around her reproductive health. The experiences of Lindokhule and Lungile show that patriarchal violence is reproduced through the allocation of reproductive rights as that which remain the property of the male 'head-of-house', or as that which women cannot autonomously engage.

Lungile and Lindokhule reflect on the lack of care, privacy and respect afforded to them at the local clinic (Lungile: "Like in a way that next time you don't want to come back."; Lindokhule: "I don't use anything. Aye, I'm just me. I just left it"). The withdrawal from these institutions by Lindokhule and Lungile acts as a protective closing down that has contradictory consequences. They are protected against the violence of the state, but are made more vulnerable to gender inequity through the very institutions which the state has sanctioned to protect marginalised women from GBV.

The majority of residents of Thembelihle live below the poverty line, with the average household income being R887 per month and many living on social grants as the primary form of income (Veriava, 2006). As such, most of the community members are required to access state health and social services. Although there has been a move towards desegregation, health care remains racially and socio-economically segregated, with many white South Africans making use of private health care. Like the research undertaken by Deogaonkar (2004), private healthcare demonstrates the continued racial fault lines in the South African landscape, where profitability is placed above equality. Lungile constructs respect as something not afforded to

the majority of people who access public healthcare ("Ja, so we should also [be] respected regardless of going to public [institutions]"). Privacy, respect, and care remain reserved for middle-to-upper-class people (who are mostly white) (Lungile: "They also respect those people going to private"). Private healthcare, orientated towards whiteness and middle-class realities, is out of reach for the majority of black people in South Africa. As Lungile points out, one can only buy access to the white, middle-class space of private healthcare, where respect and dignity are afforded to patients ("At the same time, I can't afford the private. I have to go there to the public").

The above conversation constructs private health care as something that does not just afford health services to people, but is situated as something that extends equality, privacy, respect and dignity only to those who are able to reach (i.e. afford) this service. Public healthcare, then, is situated by these women as stripping them of dignity and humanity. To receive routine care for women, such as pap smears and accessing contraception, one is to enter into a state-controlled space that represents violence. This process of information sharing, through the identification of state-controlled spaces that need changing and to be made safe, imagines a new material space into which marginalised women can extend themselves. This imagining goes beyond merely movement 'up' into a middle-class reality by imagining a public healthcare system that fulfils its mandate to provide a service that is humanising, provides dignity and privacy, ensures patients' bodily and psychological integrity, and safeguards equality. Lungile emphasises the stripping of voice that takes place in the public healthcare system ("People don't have the voices to view their view, you know"). In the process of speaking about these violences, Lungile uses her voice to communicate her view in the 'private' space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. There is an apparent acknowledgement of the collective

dehumanisation enacted by public health services. Access to basic health care is a constitutional right, which is hampered by the disrespectful treatment by the healthcare workers.

The enactment of health care is clearly demarcated by access to "resources". The material space, as well as the women's race, class and gender, all factor into their experience of healthcare provision. There is complexity in the enactment of resistance to these systems. While the lack of care, respect and privacy results in violence towards women, complete withdrawal from the system is not possible as it has serious consequences, such as the example given by Lungile (Lungile: "You don't go there, and the next thing is you become pregnant"). This may be linked to the research by Ataguba et al. (2011), who state that barring access to healthcare services on socio-economic grounds results in lower income populations carrying the highest burden of disease. The clinic, however, is a complicated space. While it affords Miriam, whose story is recounted at the beginning of this study, safety as an African foreign national without documentation, routine care for women remains, at the same time, steeped in discriminatory violence. The insidiousness of everyday violence, however, is visible to the women, apparent in the above conversation. Yet, this everyday violence remains largely uncontested within these public spaces, as they service the most marginalised in society. Due to the impossibility of marginalised women to access private healthcare, these women are at the mercy of these institutions, which often results in silencing them. The resistance of staying away from these services acts like a double-edged sword. Thus, the clinic, designed to act as a remedy for the colonial and apartheid histories of health systems, re-inscribes colonial violence.

The Willful Body

"Would you still like to proceed with the protection order?" the magistrate takes a moment to look up from the papers he had been sorting through. His words come after a protracted silence. The family court is located in small, grey containers on the perimeter of Lenasia Magistrates court. Although the outside of the building is painted a light grey, the inside of the courtroom is dark. The small windows let very little light in. The wooden benches are empty. Lindokhule, the magistrate, an interpreter and I are the only people in the room. This is contrasts sharply with the room wherein people are applying for protection orders, which is full of people. Outside the court, members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum show their support for Lindokhule. The group shows up to demonstrate their solidarity in the face Lindokhule's experience of violence. This experience is not foreign to the other members of the forum. Indeed, it has impacted each of them personally.

"Yes," Lindokhule replies confidently. Despite all the delays, obscure process and the police's inability to find the perpetrator to get him to sign the interim court order, Lindokhule persists in pursuing legal justice for her assault. It has been a few months since she was stabbed by her ex-boyfriend. She had broken up with him a few days before the incident. A group of women assisted her in chasing him away, minimising the harm he would likely have caused her. Since then, I have been accompanying her on various trips between the Lenasia SAPS and the magistrate court. The processes to obtain the protection order had been largely obfuscated. We lapse back into silence while the magistrate continues to look over the paperwork.

"Has he signed the interim court order?"

"No."

"I cannot grant you the court order until he has signed."

Some time passes before he speaks again. Before coming to the court, Lindokhule had asked: "Sarah, we couldn't get him to sign. I don't know if it is worth going." The immensity of the task of coming to the court became apparent in her expression of doubt. In that silence, I feel the burden of hopelessness and frustration. This repetition of silence by the magistrate feels like an act of power, where we are left with a feeling of being at the mercy of the magistrate. The magistrate communicates that she needs to accompany an officer from SAPS and get him or someone over the age of 16 living in the same residential unit to sign the interim court order. This is the first time someone has communicated to her that his lessor is able to sign the court order. He remands the court date to 25 October - a month away. The process is extraordinarily slow. The obfuscation of the process results in further delays in securing her protection. Prior to this court date, Lindokhule went with the police twice to serve her ex-boyfriend with the court order. On the second attempt, she suggested that they go to his place of work. She reports that they told her that they had another case, and that should she see him again, to give them a call.

Global discourse on equal rights has masked continued inequality (Jung Park et al., 2000). However, we cannot merely speak equality into being. Indeed, such speaking can create silence around women's experiences of inequality and violence, which is antithetical to discourses of equality. The enactment of law, although legislatively progressive, is done without being orientated towards social justice when power is exercised through delay, processes are obscured, police officers refuse to do their job, and the magistrate remains silent. These are some of the ways in which the everyday violence of the state is enacted. Although the state is committed to protecting women, it is evident in these processes that state-controlled institutions and its actors are implicated in violence against women (Jung Park et al., 2000). The criminal

justice system acts to naturalise systems of patriarchal violence (Marcus, I. 1994), which serves to further marginalise vulnerable groups (Kessi, 2011; Tsirogianni & Andreouli, 2011).

A body of South African literature demonstrates that the criminal justice system in South Africa is ineffective, uncooperative, hostile, and minimises women's trauma (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001; van Niekerk, 2015). Violence and justice are experienced differently across various spatial and material conditions (van Niekerk, 2015). Bodies are inscribed within a system of value differentiation (Ahmed, 2004), and the state's lack of urgency demonstrates a lack of care. While the relevance of race within the interaction at the Magistrate's court is not made explicit, Lindokhule's position as an indigent black woman is implicated in the inaction of SAPS and their refusal to traverse the physical space of Thembelihle. That which the process of obtaining a protection order requires is unclear, and she is made to do the work of the police at risk to herself. The onus of combatting GBV and creating gender equality is then placed onto women. During the process of seeking justice, protection (in the form of the protection order) is rendered unreachable through the (in)actions of SAPS officers. As such, the magistrate does not grant the interim protection order. During the process, the magistrate and SAPS officers make very little actual contact with Lindokhule. My findings are similar to the National Department of Social Development's survey which states that GBV victims experience a lack of empathy and understanding from magistrates (DSD, 2017). This study amplifies understandings of how revictimisation happens for GBV victims in South Africa. The above-mentioned findings speak to the way in which everyday violence is enacted by SAPS and the magistrate's court.

Lindokhule becomes a "willful subject", who continues to show up within the institutional space in the face of systems bent on causing violence (Ahmed, 2014). Persistence becomes an

act of disobedience (Ahmed, 2014). Here, Lindokhule and the Thembelihle Women's Forum are unwilling to preserve the idea that women have already attained equal rights by persisting in the pursuit of justice. They show up within the institutional space as a collective and demand to be witnessed. Lindokhule displays exceptional persistence, as the task of moving between the state-controlled institutions without clear direction, is emotionally, mentally, and financially exhausting. The demonstration of collective support, first by the group of women who chased the perpetrator away, and then by the Thembelihle Women's Forum, alleviates some of the exhaustion. Their showing up becomes a form of everyday resistance in relation to institutions which systematically silence and shut out marginalised women as well as perpetrators of violence.

Telling Stories about Bodies

After the experience at the court (in the story above), the group of women who had accompanied Lindokhule sit in the boardroom of the Unisa ISHS. "I even have a headache. I am so sad. I don't think [the police] are doing enough for us women. It was my first time I was at the court. The atmosphere was not right. They don't feel like they are taking us seriously. Even the police. We can't be chasing that man. It's them. It's their work to find that man. You go to them because you are helpless. You want them to help. But they are not doing anything to help," says Anna. The room feels heavy, as though the atmosphere of the court has been carried into the emotional space. Lindokhule responds, "They want me to do their work. I must be the one -"

Anna interrupts, "This thing is very sad, Sarah, because there is another lady- a man gave the child paraffin. When the woman tried to fight for the child, he beat her. She got a protection order for the child and the man broke the protection order. Because they [the police and the

magistrate] didn't do their job. They live on the same street. What is the use of the protection order when the man still stays there and can do whatever he likes?"

"Does this man stay next to you?" Maseiso asks.

"No," replied Anna. "Government and police are not doing enough for us women."

"I last saw the detective on my case when he was taking witness statements. Nothing until now. I haven't heard anything, and I don't know what is going on," Lindokhule brings the topic back to her experience. "What if he sees her and he does something because she can report it to the police? They just don't think of these things," Anna offered. Lindokhule concludes, "I will try and go on Sunday because I know on Sunday he is not working. Then I will go to the police and ask them to take me with. Then we will go to his mother in Lehae[5] and look for him there." The group is silent for a while. Despite the many obstacles faced in the institutional processes by Lindokhule, she resolves to try again.

The affective milieu of the court is felt in the body – sadness manifests itself through physicality as a headache as stated by Anna ("I have a headache. I am so sad"). Anna then communicates frustration with the criminal justice system, which renders justice unattainable through the bureaucratic system that is said to embody efficiency and effectiveness ("I don't think [the police and the magistrate] are doing enough for us women"). Lindokhule later expresses a similar sentiment ("They want me to do their work"). Both Anna and Lindokhule communicate that the SAPS and the government do not consider women or the violences which face women in South Africa. Women, especially black indigent women, are forgotten members of society. It is, yet again, apparent that violence and justice are experienced differently across different

[5] Lehae is a community neighbouring Thembelihle. It is one of the communities to which the government wanted to relocate the community members of Thembelihle. Lehae is a formal settlement.

material and spatial conditions (van Niekerk, 2015). The SAPS and the government do not consider the complexities of the societal structures that underpin the experiences of GBV. Anna's emphatic negation clarifies the message of the story and locates the group in relation to the story by using the word "us". The police and government's inefficiency and inability to protect women from direct and structural violence become something of a legend.

Both Lindokhule and Anna express their distress that the police asked Lindokhule to look for the perpetrator (Anna: "We can't be chasing that man. It's them. It's their work to find that man"; Lindokhule: "They want me to do their work"). Requiring Lindokhule to look for the perpetrator herself puts her body at risk. Police apathy poses a risk to women's lives. Simultaneously, the police forget about Lindokhule ("I haven't heard anything, and I don't know what is going on"). Although the violence that is enacted against her by her ex-boyfriend is intensely personal, the system that carries out justice amputates her from the process of obtaining justice by not keeping her informed about the procedures or progress of the prosecution. Lindokhule is redacted and made invisible in these processes and the state-controlled institutions react mechanically and ineffectively to her humanity.

Anna interrupts Lindohkule to tell the group a story about GBV. Anna's interruption is an externalising device, which detracts from Lindokhule's personal story, and thereby situates GBV as something that happens at a distance. The quality of the story is almost mythological and tells those who are listening an archetypal trope of violence against women. Stories have the potential to disrupt hegemonic assumptions that produce normative stock stories, and thus illuminate colonial hierarchies of power as well as the value embedded in these hierarchies (Vincent, 2015). The woman and the child, in Anna's story, are situated as helpless victims in relation to broader patriarchal structures – a violent man who can do what he likes and an

ineffective police system that positively authorises violence against women by doing nothing to protect them. Systems put in place to protect women, such as the protection order, are rendered ineffectual and fail to transform the underlying structures of violence. This becomes a parable, teaching the group a lesson about the nature of context in which they live. This story highlights the insidiousness of everyday violence against women and how it occurs across multiple levels. In turn, the story interrupts the discourse of equality and unmasks the inequality perpetuated through criminal justice systems (see Jung Park et al., 2000). Maseiso attempts to personalise the story Anna that offers by asking if the man in the story lives next to Anna. In doing this, she attempts to reduce the proximity between the story and Anna.

Lindokhule's persistence, despite being ignored and undermined by the institutional processes, resists her being positioned as inferior and unworthy of state protections. Within a context where very few instances of GBV go to trial and result in a conviction, she forces the legal process to continue. Here, there is a gradual expansion of the space in which women can move which, in turn, reshapes state-controlled spaces. Despite many of the participants speaking about incidences of violence, Lindokhule is the only one (at the stage of write-up) who has sought legal intervention. A study by van Niekerk (2015) on intimate partner violence demonstrated that victims are aware of the ineffectiveness of protection orders. As such, women's refusal to engage these various obtuse and hostile processes embedded within the criminal justice system may seem like their passive acceptance of the violence that they have experienced (van Niekerk, 2015). However, the refusal of the other participants to seek legal intervention should not be viewed as a passive acceptance of GBV, but as a poignant commentary on the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system.

Domestic violence is situated across my interactions with the women as something that is pervasive, visible and known to everyone in the community. Each of the participants have their own accounts of incidents of domestic violence that have happened around them ("You will see how that one and this one are being abused by their husbands": "You know, yesterday I went there by the shops and there was this lady. This lady was undressed. She was beaten… by the shebeen. She had a cut here [gestures to forehead] and a cut here and the bottom of the mouth. Eish, it was serious, the way she was bleeding… it was probably a man [that beat her]; "A sixteen-year-old was stabbed and killed there [in Section N]"). These are only a few accounts. Thembelihle is spatially and temporally mapped by discussions of these acts of violence. The stories are mapped in physical space and time to demarcate safe and unsafe spaces. Gqola (2015) calls this the female fear factory, which is a culture of fear that is used to control and subjugate women through a constant threat of violence. Although public spaces are deemed to be unsafe, women are more likely to be victimised in their own homes (see Jung Park et al., 2000).

These accounts are coupled with tellings of revictimisation by police, where the police are reported to have asked what a woman was wearing when she was raped, or advised that domestic disputes be resolved between partners. The failure of state institutions, such as the police and the magistrate's court, results in violence against women being positively sanctioned (Moyo et al., 2017). In conversation with Peemuk, she pushes back: "My walking at night does not give me reason to be raped". Central to the production and sustainment of a colonial patriarchy was the creation of sexual difference and sexual violence (see Gqola, 2015; Scully, 1995; Thornberry, 2016). Related to this are shame and blame. In contemporary South Africa, women are continually told that we are held responsible for bringing sexual violence upon ourselves and that, as Helman (2018) states, women "deserved to be raped, both explicitly and

subtly"; thus deepening our shame and blame. Although Peemuk resists this discourse, she tells me of an incident where she was mugged with the threat of sexual violence. This happened at night, and since then, she has not walked at night. The space-time limitations on women's movements are not easily overcome, despite being resisted.

Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting

Shortly after I had returned to my office after dropping Anna off at the Lenasia South CHC, I received a please call me[6] from her. The previous weekend she had been attacked on her way home. Her foot had been broken in the attack. Anna told me on the drive to the CHC that she had left the house after a fight with her husband. During the attack, a car drove by and scared the attackers away. Anna was able to get home. "Are you finished?" I asked in surprise. I had expected her to take much of the morning. The previous times I have been to the CHC, the process had taken between two and six hours. "They lost my file. I must come back on Monday," Anna replied. In our conversation in the car on the way home, Anna tells me that the staff could not find her file and the person who manages the files does not work on Fridays.

In the losing of her file, Anna becomes a body that is lost from view in its orientation to the institutional structure (Ahmed, 2006). A round trip to the Lenasia South CHC is 16km and costs R20 These transportation costs are not insignificant and may place health care out of reach for many impoverished South Africans (Foster, 2005). Anna is financially reliant on her husband, despite playing a large role in the everyday running of their spaza shop. He often restricts her finances. The Lenasia CHC, in losing her file, enacts structural violence. Anna has to find money for transport to come back to the hospital for her check-up. Her husband is also

[6] This service allows a person who is out of airtime but needs to call someone to send a text message requesting that a person phones them back.

physically abusive. During the write-up of my doctoral studies, Anna has started to pursue legal redress, Anna did not want to take out a protection order against her husband. There was in anticipation that there would be an institutional failure to address this violence, and that she would become lost in the system (see van Niekerk, 2015). Instead, Anna makes her husband take photographs of the injuries that he inflicts upon her, and then calls his family to tell them what he has done. While institutional structures are believed by the participants not to be able to bear witness to abuse, Anna calls on others to bear witness, and thus holds him accountable in this way. Research by Moyo et al. (2017) states that women cannot get the help they require because of a lack of services, inappropriate care and response, and/or a belief that they will not be assisted. Furthermore, women need to evaluate the consequences of speaking out against partners on whom they depend financially (Moyo et al., 2017). It is apparent that institutional violence, enacted through failure to provide services or appropriate care, compounds other forms of violence.

Extensive time spent waiting is a routine part of institutional space. After Lindokhule was stabbed by her boyfriend, she had to wait three hours for the ambulance and the police to arrive. At each of the institutional spaces that I have gone to with the participants, including SAPS, the magistrate's court and the hospitals, there have been extended periods of waiting. While this speaks to the overburdened systems, there is also a perceived lack of urgency. State processes are often obfuscated, and the women are often required to move between different institutions without clarity (as seen in the first story). The process of getting an interim protection order for Lindokhule is shaped by unclear processes. We moved between the court order and the police station a number of times before we were able to get the interim protection order. The process took two days. Even though a man attempted to cause grievous bodily harm to Lindokhule, there is no urgency in the act of granting state protection to her. Everyday

violence operates within the realms of the mundane and the ordinary, through various public rituals that bring people into contact with the state –such as, the health, legal and social systems (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). This includes the hostile and unwieldy bureaucracy of the state (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Powerful political and economic systems continue to relegate black women to the margins of society (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). That is, these everyday politics determine people's ability to participate in social, economic and political activities according to how they are valued by society, and how people are marginalised and excluded from these resources (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017).

The redress of poverty and inequality, which occurs along gendered and raced lines, require institutions that are able to respond to the needs of citizens (McEwan, 2001). As was apparent in the interactions of the participants within institutional spaces, institutions are not able to hold in mind those whom they serve. This is observed in the lack of both staff and resources. The informal relationships of power within institutions mediate access to formal rights (McEwan, 2001). Despite the perpetual challenges that accompany institutional spaces, each of the participants continues to persist in attempting to access the institutional space. While this is, of course, undergirded by the need for survival and coping mechanisms, women continued showing up which demonstrates a refusal to shrink the institutional space which they currently occupy.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this study constellate around four thematic foci. The first, *Whose Body Matters?* speaks to accessing reproductive rights through public healthcare. The theme addresses the lack of privacy, dignity and respect afforded to women within these state-controlled spaces. This is intricately woven into social inequality that coheres along gendered,

raced and classed lines. The participants demonstrate that despite contemporary South Africa's move towards equal access to healthcare, there continues to be gender, geographical, social and economic distances that re-inscribe gender inequality (Deogaonkar, 2004). Furthermore, the participants were situated as being in custodianship of their husbands or the state (enacted through the clinic) when making decisions about reproductive healthcare. Through this, the healthcare system enacts an everyday violence that effects other health outcomes, the participant's bodily autonomy and integrity, and choices related to sexuality and reproduction (Sen & Govender, 2015). In reaction to this everyday violence, the participants draw on a number of repertoires of everyday resistance, including withdrawal, refusal, collective storytelling and (re)imagining public health spaces.

The second theme, *The Willful Body*, draws on Ahmed's (2014) concept of the "willful subject" and speaks to the persistence of the participants in accessing state-controlled institutions despite the obfuscated processes of SAPS and the magistrate's court in how they addresses direct violence. South Africa has some of the highest rates of GBV and homicide in the world (Matzopoulos et al., 2019). While there are numerous interventions aimed at curbing these rates of violence (Moyo et al., 2017), state-controlled institutions act to further such violence through obfuscated processes and inefficiency. Here, this theme notes how patriarchal structures are kept in place through the criminal justice system (Marcus, I. 1994). The failure of state-controlled spaces, such as SAPS and the magistrate's court, to protect women acts to undermine women's safety and security and results in revictimization (Moyo et al., 2017).

The third theme, *Telling Stories about Bodies*, first reports the participant's reflection on going to court with Lindokhule. It then notes how participants speak about their experiences of direct violence and the response by state-controlled institutions. Central to this theme is the process

of collective storytelling, which interrupts normative stories and illuminates continued injustice and power relations that continue to relegate the participants to marginalised subject positions (Vincent, 2015).

The fourth theme, *Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting*, reports how everyday encounters with institutions enact an everyday violence through obscure processes, extended waiting times, delay strategies and loss of patient files. Access to institutional resources is mediated through everyday encounters with other people (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). These encounters act to maintain division across lines of gender and race by shifting the participants to the margins by limiting access to resources such as healthcare, police services and the juridical system. Participants are required to persist and bear witness to themselves and others as a way of remedying institutional forgetting and disregarding.

Conclusion

Across each of the different themes, it is apparent that different state-controlled spaces and institutions act to mediate access to that which is guaranteed in the Constitution of South Africa (McEwan, 2001). The Constitution is, indeed, a document that (re)imagines South Africa (Gqola, 2007). The participants in this study demonstrate how state-controlled spaces do not live up to the Constitution's 'reimagined' South Africa, and instead continue to (re)perpetrate inequality through everyday violence. The way in which bodies are routinely kept in waiting, lost, violated, redacted, and abused in anonymous public spaces speaks to a collective invisibility of the participants and the enduring impact of colonial violence on the everydayness of interacting with state-controlled institutions. Through the everyday experiences of the participants of this study, some of the ways in which transformative policy fails to get enacted are spoken about. This study demonstrates that the system operates in an officious, legalistic

and sterile way, and - as such - cannot hold empathy and care for the participants. This acts as an everyday violence. Women accessing these state-controlled spaces have experienced multiple levels of violence. As the system cannot hold empathy for the participants, and is emotionally sterile and objectifying of the black, female body, it cannot hold emotional regard for women. I argue that emotional regard is imperative to justice and is thus not merely an abstract ideal.

The way in which the participants engage with the acts of drawing in and expelling enacted by state-controlled institutions is not that of passive acceptance. Indeed, the participants act to expand the various institutional and physical spaces in which they can exist through resistance, coping mechanisms, tactics of survival and acts of reclamation (see Bayat, 2000). Perhaps the most prevalent act against these largely imposing and violent state-controlled institutional actors is persistence despite being forgotten – that is, becoming "willful subjects" (Ahmed, 2014) who refuse to be erased despite the everyday violence that is enacted upon them by state-controlled institutions. This refusal to withdraw, in some state-controlled spaces, acts to continue to claim the physical and social spaces in which they exist. The protection order acts to secure the participants' roots in their homes and communities.

These women also tell stories - those which are personal and those that are distant - to enlighten each other about the nature of the state (see Vincent, 2015). These stories involve imaginations of better state-controlled spaces, such as a world in which public healthcare respects women's privacy, dignity and humanity. However, these stories sometimes use externalising devices and offer a protective withdrawal from the painful realities facing marginalised women in South Africa. Stories also provide an important map of physical spaces that are (un)safe for women in Thembelihle as well as in state-controlled institutions. Collective acts of solidarity, including

storytelling, showing up, witnessing one another and physical acts of protection, are important ways in which women do everyday resistance.

Everyday resistance has an emotional salience in the participants' lives. Although these resistances do not fully transform systems of violence, they are important as they provide a mode of psychological holding within the everyday. Women create these holding moments, embedded within moments of everyday resistance, both for themselves and between selves. Through collective storytelling, showing up and witnessing, the participants enhance emotional regard among one another.

This study demonstrates how 'public space', such as state-controlled spaces, intrudes into 'private space' – that is, how a lack of transformation regarding gender equality at the level of the state acts to routinely (re)violate, forget, lost and obscure women. The next study examines how the 'public' and the socio-historical intrude upon how marginalised women are able to make home in South Africa. The study then examines how marginalised women do everyday resistance in their creation of home in South Africa.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (1989). A community of secrets: The separate world of Bedouin women. *Signs, 10*(4), 637-657.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1990). The romance of resistance: Tracing transformation of power through Bedouin women. *American Ethnologist, 17*(1), 41-53.

Africa Check. (2016, April 9). South African police record 2,300 gender-based violence complaints in first week of lockdown – not 87,000. *Africa Check*. Retrieved from https://africacheck.org/spot-check/south-african-police-record-2300-gender-based-violence-complaints-in-first-week-of-lockdown-not-87000/

Ahmed, S. (2004[1998]). *Differences that matter: Feminist theory and postmodernism.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientation, objects, others*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2014). *Willful subjects*. London, UK: Duke University Press.

Alcoff, L. M. (1999). Towards a phenomenology of racial embodiment. *Radical Philosophy, 95*, 15-26.

Andrews, P. E. (2001). From gender apartheid to non-sexism: The pursuit of women's rights in South Africa. *North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation, 26*(693), 1-23.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (2001 [1992]). *Racialized boundaries race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle*. London, UK: Routledge.

Albertyn, C. (2007). Substantive equality and transformation in South Africa. *South African Journal on Human Rights, 23*(2), 253-276.

Ataguba, J. E., Akazili, J., & McIntyre, D. (2011). Socioeconomic-related health inequality in South Africa: Evidence from General Household Surveys. *International Journal for Equity in Health, 10*(48), 1-10.

Bayat, A. (2000). From ‘dangerous classes’ to ‘quiet rebels’: Politics of the urban subaltern in the Global South. *International Solidarity, 15*(3), 533-557.

Bi, S. & Clusty, T. (2015). Forced sterilizations of HIV-positive women: A global ethics and policy failure. *AMA Journal of Ethics, 17*(10), 952-957.

Boonzaier, F. (2008). If the man says you must sit, then you must sit': The relational construction of woman abuse: Gender, subjectivity and violence. *Feminism & Psychology, 18*(2), 183-206.

Boonzaier, F. A., & van Niekerk, T. J. (2018). “I’m here for abusing my wife”: South African men constructing intersectional subjectivities through narratives of their violence. *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention, 16*(1), 2-19.

Bondi, L. (1998). Gender, class, and urban space: Public and private space in contemporary urban landscapes. *Urban Geography, 19*(2), 160-185.

Bourgois, P. (2009). Recognizing invisible violence: A thirty-year ethnographic retrospective. In B. Rylko-Bauer, L.M. Whiteford & P. Farmer (Eds.), *Global health in times of violence* (pp. 17-40). Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Britton, H. (2006). Organising against gender violence in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 32*(1), 145-163.

Brown, L., & Durrheim, K. (2009). Different kinds of knowing: Generating qualitative data through mobile interviewing. *Qualitative Inquiry, 15*(5), 911-930.

Coetzee, A., & du Toit, L. (2018). Facing the sexual demon of colonial power: Decolonising sexual violence in South Africa. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *25*(2), 214-227.

Connell, R. W. (1990). The state, gender, and sexual politics: Theory and appraisal. *Theory and Society, 19*(5), 507-544.

Crenshaw, K. (1994). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 93 – 118). New York: Routledge.

CSVR. (2016). *Mapping local gender-based violence prevention and response strategies in South Africa.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Retrieved from: https://www.csvr.org.za/publications/2656-mapping-local-gender-based-violence-prevention-and-response-strategies-in-south-africa

Deogaonkar, M. (2004). Socio-economic inequality and its effect on healthcare delivery in India: Inequality and healthcare. *Electronic Journal of Sociology, 11*.

DPME (2016). *Report on diagnostic review of the state response to violence against women and children: Summary version.* Pretoria, South Africa: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Department of Social Development.

Duncan, N. (1996). Renegotiating gender and sexuality in public and private spaces. In N. Duncan (Ed.), *Bodyspace: Destabilising geographies of gender and sexuality* (pp. 127-144). London, UK: Routledge.

Eisenstein, Z. (1988). *The female body and the law*. Berkeley,CAl: University of California Press.

Foster, K. E. (2005). Clinics, communities, and cost recovery: Primary health care and neoliberalism in post-apartheid South Africa. *Cultural Dynamics, 17*(3), 239-266.

Gibbs, A., Dunkle, K., Ramsoomar, L., Willan, S., Shai, N.J., Chatterji, S., Naved, R., & Jewkes, R. (2020). New learnings on drivers of men's physical and/or sexual violence against their female partners, and women's experiences of this, and the implications for prevention interventions. *Global Health Action, 13*(1), 1739845.

Gopal, V. & Chetty, V. (2006). No women left behind: Examining public perspectives on South African Police Services' handling of violence against South African women. *Alternation, 13*(2), 117-133.

Gouws, A. (1999). Beyond equality and difference: The politics of women's citizenship. *Agenda, 15*(40), 54-58.

Gqola, P. D. (2007). How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender-based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities, 5*(1), 111-124.

Gqola, P. (2015). *Rape: A South African nightmare*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Media.

Hanam, K., Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: mobilities, immobilities and moorings, mobilities. *Mobilities, 1*(1), 1-22.

Hanisch, C. (1969). The personal is political. In B. Crow (Ed.), *Radical feminism: A documentary reader* (pp. 113-16). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Hart, G. (1991). Engendering everyday resistance: Gender, patronage and production politics in rural Malaysia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *19*(1), 93-121.

Hassim, S. (2014). Violent modernity: Gender, race and bodies in contemporary South African politics. *Politikon*, *41*(2), 167-182.

Health Professions Act 56 of 1974, c. I, s. 3(o).

Helman, R. (2018, August 8). #KhensaniMaseko's suicide is another reminder of the cost of rape. *IOL*. Retrieved from https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/khensanimasekos-suicide-is-another-reminder-of-the-cost-of-rape-16461452

Hyndman, J. (2001). Towards a feminist geopolitics. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien, 45*(2), 210-222.

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *The Lancet, 359*(9315), 1423-1429.

Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: Findings of a cross-sectional study. *PloS One, 6*(12), e29590.

Jung Park, Y., Fedler, J., & Dangor, Z. (Eds.). (2000). *Reclaiming women's spaces: New perspectives on violence against women and sheltering in South Africa.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.

Kapp, C. (2006). Rape on trial in South Africa. *The Lancet, 367*(9512), 718-719.

Kasonga, R. (2018) *Crime against women in South Africa: An in-depth analysis of the Victims of Crime Survey data* (Report 03-40-05). Pretoria, South Africa: Statistics South Africa.

Kessi, S. (2011). Photovoice as a practice of re-presentation and social solidarity: Experiences from a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. *Papers on Social Representations, 20*, 7.1-7.27.

Kessi, S. (2019). Towards a decolonial psychology: Defining and confining symbols of the past. *Museum International, 71*(1-2), 80-87.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2017). Resistance and transformation in postcolonial contexts. In C. Howarth & E. Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics* (pp. 116-130). London, UK: Routledge.

Koopman, S. (2011). Let's take peace to pieces. *Political Geography, 30*, 193-194.

Krieger, N., Rowley, D. L., Herman, A. A., Avery, B., & Phillips, M. T. (1993). Racism, sexism, and social class: Implications for studies of health, disease, and well-being. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 9*(6), 82-122.

Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. *Ethnography, 4*(3), 455-485.

Lau, U., & Stevens, G. (2012). Textual transformations of subjectivity in men's talk of gender-based violence. *Feminism & Psychology, 22*(4), 423-442.

Lefebvre, H. (1991[1974]). *The production of space*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742-759.

Lugones, M. (2008). Coloniality and gender. *Tabula Rasa*, *9*, 73-102.

Mabuza, E. (2020, 24 Feb). 'You HIV people like making babies': forced sterilisation for infected women. *Times Live.* Retrieved from: https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-02-24-you-hiv-people-like-making-babies-forced-sterilisation-for-infected-women/

Machisa, M., Jewkes, R., Morna, C., & Rama, K. (2011). *The war at home: Gender based violence indicators project*. In Gauteng research report. Gender Links & South African Medical Research Council.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizenship and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 95-117.

Marcus, G. (1998). *Ethnography through thick and thin Princeton.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, I. (1994). Reframing "domestic violence": The terrorism in the home. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 11 – 35). London, UK: Routledge.Massaro, V. A., & Williams, J. (2013). Feminist geopolitics. *Geography Compass*, *7*(8), 567–577.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Mathews, S., & Abrahams, N. (2001). *Combining stories and numbers: An analysis of the impact of the Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998) on women*. The Gender Advocacy Programme & The Medical Research Council (Gender & Health Research Group).

Matzopoulos, R., Abrahams, N., Bowman, B., Shai, N., Prinsloo, M., Salau, S., ... & Gray, G. (2019). Utility of crime surveys for Sustainable Development Goals monitoring and violence prevention using a public health approach. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, *109*(6), 382-386.

McEwan, C. (2000). Engendering citizenship: Gendered spaces of democracy in South Africa. *Political Geography, 19,* 627-651.

McEwan, C. (2001). Gender and citizenship: Learning from South Africa? *Agenda, 16*(47), 47-59.

McLaren, Z. M., Ardington, C., & Leibbrandt, M. (2014). Distance decay and persistent health care disparities in South Africa. *BMC Health Services Research, 14*(541), 1-9.

Meth, P. (2010). Unsettling insurgency: Reflections on women's insurgent practices in South Africa. *Planning Theory and Practice, 11*(2), 241-263.

Mfecane, S. (2018). Towards African-centred theories of masculinity. *Social Dynamics, 44*(2), 291-305.

Moolman, B. (2013). Rethinking 'masculinities in transition' in South Africa considering the 'intersectionality' of race, class, and sexuality with gender. *African Identities*, *11*(1), 93-105.

Moosa, F. (2019, Sept 5). How the government is ruining its own plan to end gender-based violence. *The Daily Vox.* Retrieved from https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/how-the-government-is-ruining-its-own-plan-to-end-gender-based-violence/

Moyo. N., Khonje, E., & Brobbey, M. (2017). *Violence against women in South Africa: A country in crisis*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Ouzgane, L., & Morrell, R. (2005). *African masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present*. Berlin, Germany: Springer.

Naidoo, K. (2013). Rape in South Africa-a call to action. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, *103*(4), 210-211.

Novoa, A. (2015). Mobile ethnography: emergence, techniques and its importance to geography. *Human Geographies--Journal of Studies & Research in Human Geography*, *9*(1), 97-107.

Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. Minnesota, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press.

Peacock, D., & Levack, A. (2004). The men as partners program in South Africa: Reaching men to end gender-based violence and promote sexual and reproductive health. *International Journal of Men's health*, *3*(3), 173-188.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(2), 175-196.

Presidential Summit Against Gender-Based Violence and Femicide. (2019, Nov 2). *Presidential Summit Declaration Presidential Summit Declaration against Gender-based Violence and Femicide*. Retrieved from https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201903/summit-declaration.pdf

Quesada, J., Hart, L. K., & Bourgois, P. (2011). Structural vulnerability and health: Latino migrant laborers in the United States. *Medical Anthropology*, *30*(4), 339-362.

Ratele, K. (2016). *Liberating masculinities*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC press.

Sachs, A. (1990). Judges and gender: The constitutional rights of women in a post-apartheid South Africa. *Agenda, 6*(7), 1-11.

Scheper-Hughes, N. (1992). *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Schreiner, B., Mohapi, N., & Van Koppen, B. (2004). Washing away poverty: Water, democracy and gendered poverty eradication in South Africa. *Natural Resources Forum, 28*(3), 171-178.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts.* New Haven, CT: Yael University Press.

Scully, P. (1995). Rape, race, and colonial culture: The sexual politics of identity in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony, South Africa. *The American Historical Review, 100*(2), 335-359.

Sen, G., & Govender, V. (2015). Sexual and reproductive health and rights in changing health systems. *Global Public Health, 10*(2), 228-242.

Shefer, T., Ratele, K., & Strebel, A. (Eds.). (2007). *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society*. Cape Town, South Africa: Juta and Company Ltd.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A, 38*(2), 207-226.

South African Government. (2020a). Thuthuzela Care Centres. South African Government. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.za/TCC

South African Government. (2020b). National Gender-Based Violence & Femicide Strategic Plan, 2020-2030 (Draft). Retrieved from: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201909/nspongbvfdraft.pdf

South African Police Services. (2019). *Crime situation in Republic of South Africa twelve (12) months (April to March 2018-19).* Retrieved from: https://www.saps.gov.za/services/april_to_march2018_19_presentation.pdf

Starks, H., & Brown Trinidad, S. (2007). Choose your method: A comparison of phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, *17*(10), 1372-1380.

Statistics South Africa. (2011). *Census 2011*. Pretoria, South Africa: Statistics South Africa.

Staeheli, L. (1994). Restructuring citizenship in Pueblo, Colorado. *Environment and Planning A*, *26*(6), 849–871.

Stewart, L. (2014). Rights discourse and practices, everyday violence and social protests: Who are counted as subject and whose lives are real in the neo-colonial South African nation state? *Law, Democracy, & Development, 18*, 1-21.

Theletsane, W. (2019, Dec 25). Some of the femicide cases that made headlines in 2019. *Eye Witness News.* Retrieved from https://ewn.co.za/2020/01/02/femicide-cases-that-made-headlines-in-2019

TheTotalShutdown. (2018). *The Total Shutdown: Intersectional Womin's Movement Against GBV*. Retrieved: https://www.facebook.com/WomenProtestSA/

Thornberry, E. (2016). Rape, race, and respectability in a South African port city: East London, 1870-1927. *Journal of Urban History*, *42*(5), 863-880.

Tsirogianni, S., & Andreouli, E. (2011). Beyond social cohesion: The role of 'fusion of horizons' in inter-group solidarities. *Papers on Social Representations, 20,* 5.1 – 5.25.

van Niekerk, T. J. (2015). Respectability, morality and reputation: Social representations of intimate partner violence against women in Cape Town (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Cape Town, South Africa, University of Cape Town.

van Niekerk, T. J., & Boonzaier, F. (2019). An intersectional analysis of responses to intimate partner violence in two marginalised South African communities. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies, 10*(1), 26-48.

van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany, NY, USA: State University of New York Press.

van Schalkwyk, S., Boonzaier, F., & Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2016). Woman abuse in South Africa: Reflecting on the complexity. In S. van Schalkwyk, & P. Gobodo-Madikizela (Eds.). *A reflexive inquiry into gender research: Towards a new paradigm of knowledge production and exploring new frontiers of gender research in southern Africa* (pp. 47-68). Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Veriava, F. (2006). *Access to education for learners in Thembelihle.* Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. Retrieved from http://www.ewisa.co.za/ewisawaterworks/misc/MunicipalDocuments/NCDisPixley_Ka_Seme/LMThembelihle/02775_thembelihle_02.pdf

Vincent, L. (2015). 'Tell us a new story': A proposal for the transformatory potential of collective memory projects. In P. Tabensky, & S. Matthews (eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South African higher education institutions* (pp. 21-44). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: UKZN Press.

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, V.A. (2013). “Everyday resistance”: Exploration of a concept and its theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine, 1*, 1-46.

Walker, C. (1991). *Women and resistance in South Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: New Africa Books.

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology.* Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1993). Gender and nation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 16*(4), 621-632.

STUDY II

HOME AND WOMEN'S EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

Abstract

Home has a multiplicity of dimensions. It represents a psychological, social, and geographic space, rooted in the mundane practices of the everyday. The (re)creation of home in South Africa is heavily influenced by the socio-historical landscape of colonialism and apartheid, and the associated mechanisms of land dispossession and migrant labour. Running parallel to these violences are creative, prudent, determined and ordinary forms of resistance that carve out and extend spaces for people who experience marginalisation to (re)create home. Using critical ethnography, this study examines the ways in which a group of marginalised women experience home and enact everyday resistance within and beyond the home. This data is analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis. I explore three themes: "Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland", "Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports", and "Encountering Ancestors to Make Home". In the first theme, I examine how experiences of home are tied to histories of land dispossession and how paternal constructions of home are disrupted. Within the second theme, I explore how documentation (and the lack thereof) demarcates contours of belonging and home. Lastly, in the third theme, I analyse how home is negotiated through cultural traditions and temporal movements towards ancestors. The participants utilised a multiplicity of strategies, include persistence, refusal to be erased, creating ordinariness and hope, and holding onto traditional practices. Such resistance, however, is often contradictory and incomplete, and was not necessarily transformative or effectual. Instead, it works in smaller, implicit ways to expand the physical, psychological and cognitive spaces that marginalised women can inhabit.

Keywords: everyday resistance; everyday violence; women; home; diaspora

Introduction

Maseiso's home is two streets up from the road that winds past the *Chesa Nyama*[7], towards the main road that dissects Thembelihle. It is the only tarred road within the community. Maseiso and I stand just outside her yard, which is demarcated by a chain-link fence. The fence meets the red earth of the road and is surrounded by green foliage. We have been talking for just under two hours. The street is busy, filled with the sounds of people, music, and children playing with one another. The smell of electrical burning catches the back of my throat. Although she lives in Thembelihle, Maseiso is from Lesotho. She came to South Africa in 2001. She tells me during the course of our conversation that "There is no money for me and my daughter to go to Lesotho [over the Easter weekend], so I must stay here." She gestures to her home behind her. "This *mokhukhu*[8] is not perfect but it is mine. I am grateful for it. It keeps the rain off my daughter and myself," she tells me. The yard where her *mokhukhu* stands is owned by her sister and constitutes four structures. Her *mokhukhu* is old - the bright zinc has dulled and rusted. Her door is held shut by a single chain and a broken lock. Home, here, is a precarious physical space. "I am suffering, Sarah. You see that lock, she is broken," she anchors her anxiety around the broken lock. "Tomorrow, I must get a new one."

Maseiso has spoken often of her sister's ill treatment and disdain for her. This narrative is tied to her sharing of the yard – a relational dimension of home. Although her sister invited her to bring her *mokhukhu* to her yard, Maseiso tells me that she feels unwanted and unwelcome. "You see, when someone came to connect us to electricity, she told them not connect me". She goes on to say that "If I had just R200,00 a month, I could move to another place. This *mokhukhu,* she is mine, you see. So, I could move her. I just need another place, then I will be

[7] *Chesa Nyama* is a South African fast food franchise that sells meat cooked over an open flame. Although not an 'official' *Chesa Nyama* franchise, community members refer to this particular vendor as such.
[8] Sotho word meaning an informal structure made from zinc.

no longer so suffering." She cannot afford to move her *mokhukhu* to her own yard because she is currently unemployed.

The above is a story about the multiplicity of home. Home, here, signifies a psychological, social, relational and geographic space, rooted in the mundane practices of the everyday (Brah, 1996; hooks, 2009). In South Africa, notions of home are located within histories of land dispossession, segregation, migrant labour, oppression and exploitation. Many black South Africans and African foreign nationals have a diasporic[9] lived experience of home within South Africa, and continue to endure physical, psychological and cognitive displacement. For people whose subjectivities are tied to the contemporary landscape of dislocation and movement, the multiplicity of home restricts a subject's ability to secure the "roots or routes" of their destination (Ahmed, 2000, p.77). Running parallel to these violences are creative, prudent, determined and ordinary forms of everyday resistance that carve out and extend psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces for people who experience marginalisation to (re)create home.

For Maseiso, home is embedded in the everyday encounters of conflict with her sister, her resultant distress about whether or not she belongs, her restricted movement and the precarity of the material space she and her daughter occupy. The security provided by the *mokhukhu* comes under threat as she tells me the story of the broken door lock. Although Maseiso's stories of home are steeped in structures of violence, by imagining fixing the broken lock and moving her *mokhukhu* to a new yard, it is also a story of hope. Such hope represents a form of social and ideation resistance that inflects ordinary life with the possibility of improved living

[9] A diaspora is a geographically scattered population whose origin, or birthplace, is in a different geographic location. For the purposes of this study, I understand diasporic experiences as including a space-time element, whereby people's displacement from their homes is tied in with particular historical events.

conditions (Richter-Devroe, 2011). Imagining an ordinary, joyful life acts to resist conditions of violence that necessitate suffering. Indeed, Richter-Devroe (2011) states that the stubborn insistence to carry on with life, despite conditions of violence, constitutes a form of everyday resistance.

Home has been written about extensively and across multiple disciplines, including sociology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, human geography, architecture and history (for review on the sociology of home, see Mallet, 2004). In the 1970s and 1980s, human geographers conceptualised home as a place of safety and belonging that is representative solely of the private sphere and as a refuge from an intrusive and hostile public sphere (Brickell, 2012). However, such understandings of home have since been unsettled through a move towards critical geographies of home that conceptualise home as a problematic social space of conflict, struggle and (re)negotiation wherein the public intrudes upon the private (see Badgett & Folbre, 1999; Brickell, 2012; Folbre, 1986; Harris, 1981; Lawson, 1998; Mallet, 2004; Olwig, 1998; Young, 1997). Home, in this sense, is not located solely within the private sphere, but is deeply political and inseparable from the public sphere (Brickell, 2012; Fenster, 2005). Furthermore, home is not merely local, but exists within global geographies and histories (Christou, 2011; Marcu, 2014; O'Neill & Hubbard, 2010).

In this study, I reflect on how home is experienced by a group of marginalised women and examine how everyday resistance is done within, beyond and against constructions of home. Home in South Africa is seen as a multi-dimensional concept, with spatial, temporal, material, diasporic, relational and affective dimensions, and is embedded within histories of land dispossession. Drawing on stories of home told by seven women who live in Thembelihle, this study examines how home is engaged as a site of (re)negotiation, contestation and resistance.

Locating Home in the Literature

In this literature review, I first offer a historical overview of home in South Africa. I then critically appraise the literature on home, both locally and globally, and consider accounts of everyday resistance within this body of scholarship.

A Brief History of Home in South Africa

The material, spatial, relational and affective dimensions of home are strongly tied in with South Africa's history of land dispossession and migrant labour (Clarke et al., 2007). These twinned legacies continue to impact the ways in which marginalised women (both South African and African foreign nationals) can and do make home. These socio-historic realities, although difficult to shift or transform, can be challenged through the everyday practices of women. When thinking about South Africa and the creation of home, Brah (1996) states that we need to think about who can have home, and how belonging is related to colonial histories of violence and land dispossession. Questions of context, including historicity, temporality, and space, all need to be examined in the experiences of migration and the making of home(s).

The history of land dispossession in South Africa begins with the Dutch settlement in the Cape in 1652. While initially enforced through direct violence, land dispossession was eventually legally formalised through the Glen Grey Act in 1894, and then again in the 1913 Land Act (Worden, 1996). This happened just after the formalisation of the South African Union between the Dutch and the British in 1910 (Phala, 2013). As a result of the removal of communal land rights, and socio-political and economic exclusion, black people were rendered landless and home-less in their ancestral lands and were confined to reserves that later became homelands under the apartheid government (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Phala, 2013). After the National

Party took power in 1948, land dispossession and segregation were intensified under various pieces of legislation, such as the Group Areas Act and the Native Resettlement Act, which legitimised the forced removal of black people from their homes (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014). Today, such land dispossession is central to South Africa's racial and spatial landscape.

In South Africa, the conception of homeland is tied to areas the apartheid government designated to black South Africans. Such designation was based on assigned ethnic groups, known as Bantustans (Clarke et al., 2007). Bantustans were intended to be run by customary law, and thus sought to strip black South Africans of their citizenry (Wentzel, 2003) and prevent them from living in white urban areas (Clarke et al., 2007). The designation of these physical spaces ensured that difference, across racial and ethnic lines, was enforced (Mamdani, 1996). Although homelands may have ties to ancestral land, they also are intimately connected with histories of colonialism and apartheid. In the homelands, there was a severe shortage of land due to a process of known as "villagization", whereby people were forced to live in peri-urban villages. In turn, within the homelands, a transition occurred from an agricultural to a cash-based economy which depended on migrant labour (Clarke et al., 2007). The migrant labour system also disrupted gender norms and traditional structures through the separation of families (Camlin, Snow & Hosegood, 2014), a process which continues to have devastating social consequences.

Accompanying land dispossession, South Africa's contemporary physical and social landscape is tied to a history of dislocation, forced movement and restricted movement. Migrant labour is central to the violence, dispossession, and exploitation of black people. Colonists used migrant labour, both local and from abroad, to secure wealth and development (Trimikliniotis et al., 2008). Male migrant labourers were present in the Cape Colony on, for example, farms

and public works, and their movement were controlled by requiring that these workers carry passbook with them at all times (Wentzel, 2003). Under apartheid, labour supply for white urban areas was supported by Influx Control and the Group Areas Act. These Acts were a controlled and deliberate system creating impermanence among the urbanisation process of black people (Clarke et al., 2007). There is, what Wilson (2011) states, a racist manipulation of human capital in the migrant labour system that results in differential opportunities for the accumulation of income for black and white South Africans. This underlying racial bias continues in contemporary South Africa.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the discovery of diamonds and gold made for rapid industrialisation, which increased the number of migrant male labourers. According to Wanjiku Kihato (2007, 2013), the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 retains its importance in the construction of contemporary Johannesburg as a city of economic and social opportunity. Closed compounds were created at diamond mines and later at gold mines, which ensured a cheap, controlled and continuous labour force (Harington, McGlashan, & Chelkowska, 2004; Wentzel, 2003). Only men were permitted to live in these compounds; their families could not live with them (Wilson, 2011). Furthermore, the compounds were segregated in accordance to ethnic groupings (Harington et al., 2004). Migrant workers were required to carry passes that disallowed them from leaving designated areas and separated them from their families. With appropriate permissions, black people could labour in white cities, however permanent residence in these cities was not possible (Cox, Hemson, & Todes, 2004). Due to these restrictions in movement and the contractual nature of employment, circular or oscillating patterns of migration arose (Posel, 2010).

Men who were recruited to work in the diamond and gold mines fell into three categories: men from within the borders of South Africa who were recruited from the 'homelands'; men recruited from the former High Commission, which are now the independent countries Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; and men from foreign countries, such as Mozambique, Zambia and Angola (Harington et al., 2004). Indeed, foreign nationals were allowed to work in South Africa (but were never granted citizenship) for reasons pertaining to cheap labour (Harrington et al., 2004; Wentzel, 2003). Movement in and out of South Africa for the majority of people living in the country was only possible with a pass or passport.

Influx control legislation was not only designed to prevent black South African moving and residing in white urban areas, but also to prevent women from migrating from urban areas so that there was a stable population of women to maintain the rural homelands (Camlin et al., 2014; Prestin-Whyte, 1978). However, according to Bonner (1990), women resisted this and, as early as the late 19th century, have moved independently to and within the borders of South Africa to pursue the economic opportunities in the Witwatersrand during the gold economy boom. The number of women migrants working as domestic staff in white homes increased from the 1980s (Ngwane, 2003). During this time, women also worked in the informal sectors, which evolved concurrently with the male migrant labour system (Walker, 1990). Moreover, through access to pension and remittances and an ability to provide childcare, women of pensionable age in the home allowed for women of working age to earn an income (Camlin et al., 2014).

South Africa's migrant population has increased from 1990, especially after the transition to democracy in 1994 (Wentzel, 2003). This comes after the restrictions on the movement and settlement of black people were lifted in 1986 (Posel, 2010). According to Trimikliniotis et al.,

(2008), migrant labour in South Africa is not tied only to events within the country, but also to global processes, such as inequality, displacement, conflicts, oppression, globalisation, technological advances in transportation, as well as communications and the media (see Bloch, 2010).

Migrant labour patterns have shifted since the formal end of apartheid. These shifts were due to a number of events which, according to Trimikliniotis et al. (2008), included the 'negotiated' end of apartheid, the collapse of "actually existing socialism", and disasters, wars and famines elsewhere in Africa, all of which resulted in a rise in the number of migrants to South Africa. The migrant labour population tend to come from 'traditional labour supply areas', including Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and Botswana (Wanjiku Kihato, 2007, 2013; Wentzel, 2003). Today, Clarke et al. (2007) argue that the legacy of pass laws continues to shape the lived realities of many South Africans and African foreign nationals. They further posit that because of continuing inequities, rural communities remain reliant on migrant labour (Clarke et al., 2007). Similarly, Harington et al. (2004) aver that the migrant labour system remains entrenched in the socio-political landscape and continues to have serious social consequences. These consequences, according to Clarke et al. (2007), include rural poverty, families without adult males, dense settlements, circular migrations (i.e., patterns of staying away from and returning to home), and increased risk of contracting HIV.

According to Trimikliniotis et al., (2008), South Africa's transition from apartheid affected internal migrant patterns which were a result of the rapid urbanisation that took place via people seeking to make a 'better life' for themselves. Corroborating this, Clarke et al. (2007) state that population settlement and mobility patterns in South Africa remained tied to the mining industry which is linked to the migrant labour system. Migration, both illegal and legal, has

become a central question in South African rhetoric, according to Trimikliniotis et al. (2008). They give the example of illegal African foreign nationals being constructed in broader political discourse as a threat to the livelihoods of many black South Africans (Trimikliniotis et al., 2008). Murray (2008) argues that since 1994, land redistribution in South Africa has been slow. He notes that the spatial reconfiguration of South African cities, especially Johannesburg and Cape Town, has been unsuccessful in achieving spatial justice and granting black South Africans access to their full citizen rights (Murray, 2008).

Constructions of Home

Where traditional human geography understood home as a private space of peace and sanctuary (Brickell, 2012), critical geography conceptualised home as located not only in the domain of the private sphere, but also as being shaped and intruded upon by the public sphere (see Bondi, 1998; Duncan, 1996; Gouws, 1999; McEwan, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1993). Later still, critical geographers came to understand home as a contested space of negotiation and struggle (see Badgett & Folbre, 1999; Brickell, 2012; Folbre, 1986; Harris, 1981; Lawson, 1998; Mallet, 2004; Olwig, 1998; Young, 1997). According to Brickell (2012) and Fenster (2005), this conceptual shift approached home as a deeply political construct.

According to the literature, geographies of home cannot be divorced from the materiality of the body (Blunt, 2005; Bryden, 2004; Imrie, 2004). Home, in other words, traverses the lines of gender, race and class (Blunt, 2005; Christou, 2011; O'Neill & Hubbard, 2010). Brah's (1996) work on the diasporic creation of home, for instance, explores how constructions of home are (re)lived through the multiple modalities of race, gender and class. Home, then, according to McFarlane (2011), is a space of unequal social relations, which include patriarchal and colonial oppression, violence and fear (Burman & Chantler, 2004). Furthermore, Lau

(2019) elucidates that asymmetries of home and belonging continue to be reproduced and materialised in spaces of poverty and affluence. Building on this, Imrie (2004) states that these unequal social relations are often at odds with ideal imaginations of home as a place of sanctuary, peace, and security.

Several scholars have argued that conceptions of home are embedded in articulations of belonging, that is to say, who belongs and, subsequently, who does not (Duyvendak, 2011; Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Home is therefore not just a material and imaginative site, but is intrinsically linked to power and identity. Exclusions of belonging occur across raced, classed and gendered lines, and are located in both local and global histories. Blunt (2005) and Mallett (2004) both argue that the feelings of safety and security of those in positions of power have been secured by the violence, oppression, exclusion and alienation of minority groups. We see this, for example, in the ways by which the Group Areas Act and the Influx Control Act relegated black South Africans to homelands on the peripheries, securing urban centres for white South Africans. However, Brah (1996) argues that home, belonging and identities are never entirely settled and are continually contested.

Home, as theorised by Ahmed (2000), is tied up with the complexities of history, which does not only constitute the displacement and dispossession of people, but also how spaces and places of belonging are demarcated under oppressive renderings of the world. Home is also, as noted by Brah (1996), mediated by historically specific everyday encounters of social relations. Home, as situated within histories of physical, psychological and cognitive displacement, have special significance in my study, considering South Africa's own history of land dispossession and migrant labour.

The research literature on home organises the concept of home around a common ancestry of a group of people, demarcating shared historical struggle and an intertwined destiny (Brah, 1996; Makama, 2016; Mason, 2007). Home in the diasporic imagination, according to Brah (1996), is both the homeland, that is, "a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination" (p. 187), as well as the home of the lived reality (see also Makama, 2016; Mason, 2007). Lived reality is tied to the lived experience of home. Homeland, as further stated by Brah (1996), signifies a shared belonging to a group that is constituted by a shared language, religion, set of social customs, and/or traditions. Ahmed (2000) avers that home, indeed, is not tied to a specific, singular place that is simply inhabited, but is instead related to a multiplicity of places. As Mason (2007) states, there is a dynamic relationship between lived home and homeland. Considering the above, Imrie (2004) claims that, for many, home remains conditional, contingent, and insecure.

Speaking to the South African context, Makama (2016) suggests that there are two dimensions of home: home as relating to place (either current or historical), and home as relational and connected with ancestry and kinship. The "rootedness" of ancestral connection with home does not necessarily mean an immediate knowledge of the space or people associated with that home. It is connected to one's family name and with paternal connection. This concept is encapsulated in the phrase, *ngwakabani*, which, loosely translated, means "whose am I?" or "from which people am I?". In her study with homeless men in Johannesburg, Makama (2016) suggests another dimension of home: something that is not related to a physical shelter or a blood relative, but to a sense of belonging and acceptance.

Home, although related to broader structures, also has social and relational dimensions. According to Brah (1996), home as a lived reality is a site of everyday embodied existence,

where feelings of rootedness emerge from the ordinary and exceptional within daily practice. She further states that communities are imagined through daily encounters. The literature here indicates that implicit in the construction of home are daily encounters and networks of relation between family, friends and others (Ahmed, 2000; Brah, 1996; Makama, 2016). Indeed, home is not a space or place that simply exists outside of a person. It is something that intrudes upon the body and is experienced through relations, affect and the senses (see Ahmed, 2000; Brah, 1996). The individual subject is, then, not separate from space. Rather, space and subject merge into each other.

Home, according to Mason (2007), is tied to memory (see also Ahmed, 2000). She states that this memory is not necessarily individual memory, but also signifies communal memory, meaning that home is passed down through stories which are always remembered in different ways. As such, Ahmed (2000) states that there is a temporal dislocation in experiences of home. She goes on to argue that home is associated with a past that can no longer be inhabited in the present. It is in this impossibility of return, she notes, that memory and place are intrinsically bound together. Ahmed (2000) insists that home is not an exterior structure but an interior one, linked together with affect and the senses (see also Seaman, 1996).

Ahmed (2000) asserts that home is tied to affect. She states that how one feels (or fails to feel) at home is a central tenet of the construction of home (see also Mason, 2007). These feelings of belonging are often tied to lines of identity (Blunt, 2005; Christou, 2011; O'Neill & Hubbard, 2010). Experiences of geographic spaces (as well as psychic and communal spaces), according to Brah (1996), are articulated through different histories and can be simultaneously experienced as spaces of terror and safety. Furthermore, Ahmed (2000) proclaims that movement towards and away from home is always affective.

Massey (1992, 1994), in considering place, home and memory, states that there is no singular or eternal 'truth' related to place or home. Instead, she argues that place is constituted through social relations that occur both in the specific place and broader landscapes, resulting in the very identity of place being provisional and continually co-constructed. Ahmed (2000) suggests thinking of being-at-home as a permeable boundary between self and space, through which the world is experienced. Her theory troubles conceptions of home and away. While keeping in mind the everyday and interpersonal relations, scholars have noted that we must be mindful that the construction of home is situated within broader state politics and thus needs to be examined within its socio-historical context (Askins, 2016; Mamdani, 1996).

While scholars argue that the construction of home can be contested, resisted ,and shifted (see Imrie, 2004), less scholarship has sought to undertake a fine-grained analysis of how everyday resistance has been enacted at the multiple dimensions of home. Furthermore, scholarship on the diaspora has focused on moving away from countries, with less attention afforded to cognitive, emotional and physical displacement within a person's home of origin.

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates of Home

This study draws on the theoretical coordinates of home as a physical, relational, and affective space. These theoretical coordinates are then located within the study's broader conceptual framework (i.e., liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies). Examinations of home touch on that which is intensely personal and political, with understandings of home being largely disparate and dependent upon the lens from which it is viewed (Mallet, 2004; Saunders & Williams, 1988). Home has been theorised as a

multidimensional phenomenon that needs to be understood from an interdisciplinary lens (Mallet, 2004). As such, this study considers the physical, relational, affective, and historic dimensions of home in relation to everyday resistance. Drawing on liberation psychology, this study locates the construction of home in South Africa within historically-situated structures of oppression (Martín-Baró, 1994). Home, then, is not theorised as located within the realm of the private but as a space in which broader public structures intrude (see Badgett & Folbre, 1999; Brickell, 2012; Folbre, 1986; Harris, 1981; Lawson, 1998; Mallet, 2004; Olwig, 1998; Young, 1997). Drawing on feminist geopolitics, this study examines how global and local geopolitics are reproduced in the everyday experiences of home. In accordance with liberation psychology, this study is not only interested in the ways in which home is experienced but also the ways in which individual and collective resistance is done in relation to home. Affective economies offers an examination how the participants experience home through relations, affect and the senses, and how participants feel (and fail to feel) about home (see Ahmed, 2000; Brah, 1996).

Aims and Objectives

In this study, I examine how everyday resistance is done within a multidimensional conception of home, that is, home as embodying spatial, temporal, material, diasporic, relational, and affective dimensions, all of which are embedded within histories of land dispossession. This study seeks to further the study aim, drawing on the identified theoretical coordinates and literature, through the following guiding questions:

1. How is home in South Africa experienced by a group of marginalised women?
2. How does a group of marginalised women do everyday resistance in relation to home?

Method

In this study, I use critical ethnography as my mode of data collection. The data is analysed with interpretive phenomenological analysis.

Data Collection and Procedure. This study, located in a broader ethnographic study, used critical ethnography to explore the experiences of home with seven women who live in Thembelihle. Critical ethnography emerged in the 1960s, predominantly located within Marxism or neo-Marxist critical theory (Carspecken, 1996). Later, as social movements focusing on broader questions of inequality emerged, the theoretical underpinnings of critical ethnography expanded (Foley, Levinson & Hurtig 2001; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Villenas & Foley 2002). Specifically, there was a move away from positivist notions of objective, value-free ethnographers, and active movement towards social justice (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005). Critical ethnography takes an activism stance to ethnographic research (Soyini Madison, 2012), where the research space becomes an arena for political activation (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005).

The nexus between colonialism and ethnography remains troublesome (Uddin, 2011). Ethnography has been well documented as a colonising tool that has resulted in the de-subjectification of people of the Global South. The production of knowledge can be viewed as an extension of the colonial empire and acts as a consolidation of power (Uddin, 2011). Indeed, ethnography has been used as a tool for 'cultural invasion' (Freire, 2000), where colonisers intrude on the cultural context of another group and impose their own worldview, undermining or denying the worldview of those who have been invaded.

As an incomplete remedy to this, embedded in this study's research process were the key tenets of critical ethnography (see Soyini Madison, 2012), which include challenging the status quo,

presenting a challenge to objectivity, and illuminating taken-for-granted assumptions in order to expose underlying inequalities and operations of power. Critical ethnography offers an alternative (although not entirely unproblematic) way of doing ethnographic work. At the centre of the method is an ethical commitment to addressing inequality and social injustice (Soyini Madison, 2012). Central to this is not viewing people as the object of study but as active agents who are able to speak for themselves (Uddin, 2011).

I spent weekly sessions over the period between 2018 and early 2020 with the participants. These sessions generally lasted between one and three hours. These explorations of home organically arose in the research process. Over the period of data collection, the development of my relationships with the women allowed for "a way of seeing that reveals the complexities of urban realities among… women in a way that a more 'objective' methodology may not allow" (Wanjiku Kihato, 2013, p. xvii). Critical ethnography involves participant observation, conversations and group dialogues. The data constitutes transcriptions of our conversations and field notes containing my own personal observations. These conversations took place in the participants' homes, physical and social spaces in the community, as well as at my place of work (indeed, because Unisa ISHS often hosts community-engaged activities, my interactions with the participants extended into interactions at my place of work). The context depended on where we 'found' ourselves on that day and what was possible for the group.

Over the duration of my fieldwork, the process has been interrupted by many movements in physical space, such as the participants moving between different homes and places; the participants' movements within Thembelihle, sometimes changing their phone numbers or losing their phones; and my movements between Johannesburg and Cape Town. All of these movements interrupted our process of connecting. Indeed, being somewhere else disrupted our

ability to show up for one another. Such interruptions, however, offer insights into instability of home, as well as a practical, visceral and material sense of the kinds of home which are done in the everyday. Homes encompass encounters between those who stay, those who leave and those who arrive (Ahmed, 2000). As I write, I think about how multiple homes allow us to connect and how they can also disconnect us from one another and ourselves.

Data Analysis. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is concerned with how humans experience the world in ways that are contextually and temporally specific (Willig, 2013). In other words, the way in which a person is orientated in the world determines how they experience it. While classic phenomenology focuses predominantly on intentionality, which refers to the subjects' location, context, angle of perception, and mental orientation (such as emotions, aims, purposes, desires) (Willig, 2013), the present study takes a more critical stance. Drawing on my theoretical coordinates, this study pays particular attention to how subjects are orientated around lines of race, gender and class. Because of the subject's orientation in the world, the construction of home may be radically different, based on dimensions of race, gender and citizenship. Women's experiences of oppression, inequality and violence are disproportionately distributed along their orientation to the world along lines of race, class and gender.

This study was guided by the analytic strategy outlined by Willig (2013) for Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis. The data analysis was done in three stages: data emersion, clustering of data into emergent themes and providing structure to the analysis. All three phases interpret the data using the study's aforementioned theoretical coordinates. The first stage, data emersion, involves the transcription of data and writing out participant observations. Participant observations are my general observations about the data collection, reflections on

the data collection process, links to other data collection sessions as well as some very initial analytic thoughts. These texts are then (re)read. As I have collected a diverse set of data, data for this study were selected based on physical trips to participants' homes, discussions of home, and experiences of participants moving between places. I then developed unfocused notes on my initial observations and thoughts, including observations, conversations with my supervisors, links to academic literature, initial analytic comments and reflective processes. As my data collection occurred over an extended period of time, these notes informed my data collection process, allowing me to reflect on my engagement with the participants. As with Study I, I refuse the bracketing off of the researcher through notions of un-reflexive objectivism (Pillow, 2003) as advised by traditional phenomenological analysis. While the participants' experiences are emphasised throughout the analysis, uncomfortable reflexivity remains a central priority of this study (Pillow, 2003).

The second stage of analysis involved clustering data into emergent themes (Willig, 2013). Drawing on my theoretical coordinates, these thematic foci were orientated around the everyday resistance of marginalised women in relation to histories of colonialism, migrant labour and land dispossession. This clustering was attentive to the feminist geopolitics, space, and how affect intersects with home and everyday resistance.

The third stage involved providing structure to the analysis, which allowed me to conceive of the emergent thematic foci in relation to one another (Willig, 2013). This process involved an iterative process of writing and rewriting (van Manen, 1990), and involved capturing elements of participants' lived experiences, albeit partially and incompletely, and unsettling taken-for-granted assumptions that reorient both the reader and researcher to new possibilities of understanding (Willig, 2013).

Willig (2013) states that in Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, the researcher typically draws up a table of the emergent themes and preserves the participants' voices as they are., with no further analytic comment made. Willig (2013) does, however, note that some scholars go beyond this by including their analytical commentary. I deviate from Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis as I do not use a table of emergent themes for the reason that it fails to capture the complexity of ethnographic data. I have also selected to tell stories, as presented in the Introduction. I have used my theoretical coordinates to layer the analysis, paying attention to the spatial, historical, and temporal dimensions of home.

Reconfiguring the Dimensions of Home

Drawing on critical ethnographic data, in this section I present my analysis of the participants' everyday resistance as it relates to home. My analysis is focused on three themes, each of which focuses on how participants negotiate, reconfigure and contest spatial, historical, and temporal dimensions of home as it is embedded in South Africa's contemporary and historical landscapes. In the first theme, named "Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland", I examine how experiences of home are tied to histories of land dispossession and migrant labour. In the second theme, "Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports", I focus on how African foreign nationals and those without South African idnetification documents can(not) make home in South Africa. In the third theme, "Encountering Ancestors to Make Home", I look at the various ways in which the past can interrupt the present construction of home through the continuities of historical legacies and movements backwards to encounter ancestors.

Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland

I meet Lisa at the clinic near Apex Primary School in Lenasia Extension 10. It is the first time I have been to this clinic. The clinic caters primarily to women and children's health, and only does screening work. The waiting room is extremely small and is full. I offer to wait outside. I wait about ten minutes for Lisa in the parking lot of the clinic. She comes out and we start the walk back to her home. Lisa tells me that she has an errand to run before she goes to KwaZulu-Natal (often referred to as KZN). KwaZulu-Natal is around 600km away from Johannesburg and is located on the eastern coast of South Africa. "Sarah, I have to go home. I was supposed to go yesterday, but I had this, my daughter's appointment [at Lenasia South Community Health Centre]. I will come back the 16th. I got a phone call yesterday. My aunt [on my mother's side of the family], she is sick. My daughter, the second one - she can't get up to school if aunty is sick," Lisa tells me. Lisa's youngest daughter lives with Lisa's aunt in KwaZulu-Natal.

We go into a small wholesale shop that is packed from floor to ceiling with different products - from sweets to washing products to cans of food. She selects a bag of sweets and a bag of chips to take with her to KwaZulu-Natal for the children, and proceeds to checkout. "Sarah, 16 plus 16?" she asks as she pays. "16 plus 16? 32." She pays cash and we leave together. "So ja, Sarah. The life is difficult. Even now you can't go, my heart it doesn't want to go, but I must go because of this situation at home. You see, aunty doesn't have a husband. She has us. So now, we are responsible to help her. If I am not going, it will be bad. Because she has no husband. She's only one. So, if she's sick, who is going to take care of her? It started yesterday - this sick. She couldn't stand up from the bed. She was like, couldn't talk. She's fifty-something. She's an elderly woman. I don't know what would happen is she is left alone," Lisa says. "Where's home?" I ask. "KZN," she replies. "That's a far way to go. How are you going to get there?" I ask again. "I go into town [Johannesburg CBD] with a taxi, and then get a bus.

You know Sarah, it is difficult when you are not working. When they say you must come, you must come. But where must I get the money? I am going with the grant of the children. Going home, it's hard."

Before she leaves for the taxi, we sit in her home in Thembelihle. She owns her own yard and has two zinc structures erected. One of the *mokhukhus* is where she lives. The other is rented out to tenants. "The Eastern Cape, I grew up there. I went in KZN when I was two years- three years. We came back with my mother because the way it was- it was not right for us at that time. We changed. We went to stay at Bloemfontein. My mother [then] found a place here [Johannesburg], in Kliptown. You know there? So, we were staying there before we were staying here. So, 1990, she moved this side to Thembelihle. But this side, there was no *mokhukhu*. It was only, you see there by the clinic. So, me, I grow up without a father. The father that was raising me, it was a stepfather. My mother was a working hard. He used to work in Lens [Lenasia] by the fish and chips [shop], there next to the train station. There was a fish and chips [shop] from the Maputo guy from Mozambique," she tells me. "It [Thembelihle] was nicer before than today. Now it's really hectic," she begins to tell me.

"But now, it took time to realise the life. Because when you are here- I was up and down, actually. Because my father- he didn't have- he had two wives. So, when I was here, he would call me and say the cows are lost at home. In the Eastern Cape. So, I had to leave the school during the year, and go there in the Eastern Cape and look for those cows who are lost. And those other children, from the first woman, they will go to school, you see. It was how I struggled to go to school, actually. I was supposed to finish long time, but the time my mother realised that 'Wow, education is important,' me, I was tired. Why I was tired was that I must go this side and this side. When I was starting to enjoy school - you see I went to primary here

at Apex - they were telling me to go home. When I was starting to enjoy home, they were picking us up to come this side [Eastern Cape]. So, it was hard for me to go to school," she says. Later in the conversation, she tells me, "By the time I was doing my Grade 11, I was tired. I was tired of going to school. She [Lisa's mother] was not educated. She never go to school. We were the one to teach her how to write her name. When she was signing her name, we told her that she was not going to put X. She was going to learn her name," Lisa says. She describes the movement between the physical spaces as confusing, as no one told her why she had to leave, and she recounts: "For a long time, I didn't know my mother [for a] long time. I didn't know it was my real mother because they were not – you know people [from] old times, they were not telling you, *ukuthi*, this what, what is going on. You just grow up there. It's hard not having love. We didn't have love. We grow up like chickens. They just get another one and the hen doesn't care about the chicks. The chicks go in and out everyone. That's how we grew up."

In contemporary South Africa, there is a resultant separation between homeland and lived home due to histories of land dispossession. Perhaps we could think about Lisa's journey to KwaZulu-Natal as traversing the fault lines of home in the South African landscape which is, itself, rendered by the dispossession of land. This journey is also echoed in her past movement between the Eastern Cape and Johannesburg, demonstrating the circular migration pattern between different homes (Posel, 2010). Lisa's journey between different homes, both in the past and during my engagement with her, invites me to contemplate the relationship between belonging, identity, and home, and what it means for her to occupy different homes in different places (Ahmed, 2000).

The construction of home is mediated by historically specific everyday social relations (Brah, 1996). The home Lisa returns to is spoken about in the sense of *ngwakabani*, which relates to

ancestral land and ties to kin (Makama, 2016). Makama (2016) states that kinship ties to home are oftentimes paternal and not necessarily tied to immediate knowledge of a place or people Yet, Lisa troubles this notion of *ngwakabani* as associated solely with paternal family connections by associating her mother's kin's homeland with home, and in doing so disrupts patriarchal constructions of family. By emphasising that she grew up without a father, despite returning to live with him, she refuses to claim the Eastern Cape as home. Instead, she locates her mother's family as home. Home is not only bound to her kin, but is also apparent in the placing of her youngest child in her aunt's care. In this regard, Lisa demarcates KwaZulu-Natal as a safe home for her daughter to grow up in (as opposed to Thembelihle, which she describes as "too hectic"). Lisa attempts to enact social and ideational resistance in order to create an ordinary home life for her daughter which is separate from the direct violence that is so prevalent in Thembelihle. By troubling home's paternal connotations, Lisa disrupts the gender relations which are so often attributed to home.

Throughout her speech, Lisa situates home as socially, relationally and historically located. The relationship between lived home and homeland is thus dynamic (Mason, 2007) and can be interrupted, redefined and reconstituted (Imrie, 2004). Gender relations and cultural considerations that are embedded within the construct of home can be transformed through everyday practices. That is, we need to consider when a place becomes home (Brah, 1996), with broader constructions of home always being reconstituted through relationships as well as individual and collective histories.

Home is both a geographic and psychological space (Brah, 1996). Lisa describes being a body out of place in each world she inhabits while growing up (see Ahmed, 2000). She belongs and does not belong to either space. This is evident in how she describes repeatedly settling into

one place only to have to move again. These routes between her urban home and her rural home weave precarity and uncertainty into her life. The conceptualisation of home as a place of fixed origin is subsequently unsettled (Brah, 1996). Movement between homes is an affective one (see Ahmed, 2000). In both worlds she grows up without love ("It's hard not having love. We didn't have love. We grow up like chickens. They just get another one and the hen doesn't care about the chicks. The chicks go in and out everyone. That's how we grew up.") Affect, then, determines how much she can(not) feel at home (see Ahmed, 2000). A lack of love is perhaps what forecloses the possibility of belonging in either physical or social space during her childhood. However, by situating her mother's family as home (by placing her daughter in the care of her maternal aunt and referring to KwaZulu-Natal as "home"), Lisa reconciles with her experience of growing up without love. Instead, she demonstrates an act of love by looking after her aunt who is sick. She continues to create a sense of community by returning home to fill the traditional role of a husband.

One way in which apartheid resulted in the cumulative erosion of dignity through racist education systems (Chaskalson, 2010). Indeed, apartheid's education system was designed to prepare black South Africans for employment that required hard labour. As such, many black South Africans were functionally illiterate (Unterhalter, 1990; Villette, 2016; Wines, 2006). Lisa's mother never went to school. Lisa and her siblings enact a form of everyday resistance to apartheid's dehumanising education system by teaching her mother how to sign her name as opposed to placing an "X". In this act, there is a claiming of identity and dignity that was almost entirely stripped away by the apartheid education system. This particular act of everyday resistance, though, has positive symbolic salience for Lisa's mother in the reclamation of dignity. Everyday resistance, then, that works towards restoring dignity is imperative for transforming social relations.

The journey (or the impossibility of journey) between homes delineates the contours of belonging (Ahmed, 2000). Structural violence - which, in this case, tied in specifically with unemployment and limited job opportunities, both of which are shaped by dimensions of gender and race in South Africa - demarcates how subjects can move across the country. This can be seen in the limitations (and in her movement, despite these limitations) placed upon Lisa's travel between Johannesburg and Kwa-Zulu Natal ("You know Sarah, it is difficult when you are not working. When they say you must come, you must come. But where must I get the money? I am going with the grant of the children. Going home, it's hard."). Lisa relies on remittances for child support to make the journey one that resembles home. Despite these financial barriers, she is determined to provide support for both her aunt and her child. She leverages state support to traverse the physical distance. In going to Kwa-Zulu Natal to look after her aunt and her daughter, Lisa preserves family and community life. With systems of migrant labour intended to separate families (Posel, 2010), Lisa's traversing of physical distance, despite the financial impossibility, is an attempt to hold onto family structures, and thus represents a form of everyday resistance. This form of everyday resistance allows for healing and sustaining of familial structures within a broader history of land dispossession. Everyday resistance also needs to be examined in relation to how subjects' movements are restricted by broader power relations and how they move despite this (see Brah, 1996). Lisa's movement towards her family has a contradictory effect in that it negatively impacts her financial position.

Lisa reflects on the changing geographic space of the community, specifically highlighting the physical growth of the community and the changing affective quality of the space. Home, then, is linked to both individual and collective memory (Ahmed, 2000; Mason, 2007). Although

Thembelihle remains her home, there is a temporal dislocation of her understanding of Thembelihle: "'the past' becomes associated with a home that is impossible to inhabit, and be inhabited by, in the present" (Ahmed, 2000, p. 99). There is a sense of estrangement from the community that is also present of her choosing to have her children live in areas outside of Thembelihle. The community, a place where she grew up, is now too "hectic" for her children to do the same. For Lisa, Thembelihle is a place that is impossible to fully inhabit. She states that it is safer for her children to live with her aunt in KwaZulu-Natal and her sister in Lehae, a community a few kilometres away from Thembelihle. Lisa's affective locating of Thembelihle as home is thus tied to a particular time and place (Ahmed, 2000; Brah, 1996).

Lisa's routes between homes impact upon her education. There is a split between the urban as a space for education and the rural as a space that embodies an agricultural way of life (e.g. looking after the cows and making bricks). Lisa states that by the time her mother realised her education was important, she was "tired". Ahmed (2014) proposes that it is anger without hope which may lead to a sense of despair or tiredness. Tiredness, here, is the sense of inevitability to of violence repeat itself in the everyday. The women have often expressed their tiredness - and perhaps more interestingly - that Thembelihle is a "boring" place. I wonder if boring, then, does not have the same function as the affect of tired. Lisa's physical displacement between homes resulted in a cognitive displacement within South Africa. Unable to access schooling, Lisa was subsequently barred from full economic participation, which limits her movement out of Thembelihle. The "tired" affect, here, circulates between individuals and structures of systematic violence that bar full participation in the economy.

Despite her tirednes, Lisa remains driven to access the economy in varied ways, including child support grants, looking for "piece jobs" [casual labour] and later working for a place that makes

curtains in Lenasia. Conversations with other members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum circulate around business ideas that will secure financial futures. This act of material survival strategies is a form of everyday resistance (Richter-Devroe, 2011). That is, the move towards a collective project for sustainable livelihoods undermines a broader socio-political structure that limits women who experience marginalisation to economically side-lined positions. The collective project within an individualised economic market also undermines a Westernised focus on individuality.

Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports

Assembling in a small circle, the Thembelihle Women's Forum occupies the only piece of shade outside SA Block, the community hall in Thembelihle. The Thembelihle Women's Forum is an invented community space of social resistance that offers women from different diasporic backgrounds a new community to inhabit. SA Block used to be the old brick factory upon which the community was originally founded. The forum, at this stage, has no formal meeting space within Thembelihle. The instability of the meeting place is mirrored in the sporadic attendance and difficulty connecting, demonstrated through the fear of speaking. Having no 'home' for the forum disrupts our ability to show up for each other and connect. Despite this, the group continues to persist in looking for physical spaces and times to meet up and find a connection.

"I went back to school," Lindokhule tells the group. She smiles and laughs. Lindokhule, whose son has just started Grade 1 at Zodiac Primary School, which is located on the fringe of Thembelihle, has just enrolled to complete her Grade 11 and matric. One of the first things she told me when I met her was that she wanted to return to school and do her Grade 11 and matric. South Africa's education system remains haunted by various oppressive legacies: racism,

sexism, ethnic chauvinism and authoritarianism (Chisholm, 2012). These material realities restrict the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces which many South Africans can occupy along particularly raced, gendered and classed lines. Returning to school to continue her education becomes a form of everyday resistance that acts to expand the psychosocial and material space that Lindokhule can move in. Furthermore, registering for her Grade 11 acts as a form of social ideation as the pursuit of study allows for hope. The act of returning to school brings Lindokhule joy. Richter-Devroe (2011) states that the finding of joy and a vision for the future - despite experiences of violence and exclusion - act as a form of social and ideation resistance. “And why didn’t you tell the good news?” Bathandwa demands. “And why didn’t you share the good news? Why didn’t you share the good news, my chair? Wowa!” “My chair” is a term of respect and comradery. Bathandwa shares Lindokhule’s joy. Joy is an affective movement between the participants in the conversation. The Thembelihle Women’s Forum becomes a social space to circulate good news, hope, joy, survival strategies and acts of resistance. Packnett (2017a) argues that joy is resistance as structures of oppression preclude happiness. Walker (1997) speaks about joy as a secret resistance. Joy, here, is not thought about as an obligatory happiness (Ahmed, 2010). Instead, Packnett (2017b) theorises that expressions of joy are vital formations of resistance. Here, Lindokhule’s return to school has a positive collective effect on the Forum. However, while returning to school may offer both symbolic and material benefit for Lindokhule, she returns to school within a context of youth unemployment. In 2020, youth unemployment in South Africa was estimated to be 55% (O’Neill, 2021). As a result, returning to school may not necessarily result in material change in Lindokhule’s reality.

The conversation continues to revolve around access to education in Thembelihle, including adult education and education for African foreign nationals. “If you are a foreigner, you can

only go study until Grade 11. They have changed it. They are no longer allowing foreigners to write matric." Here, Peemuk, a Zimbabwean national, delineates the contours for access to education for African foreign nationals. The way in which African foreign nationals can make home in South Africa is restricted by bureaucratic and legislative procedures. This is likely to be a concern for Peemuk with regards to the future of home that she imagines for her son, who has just turned eight months old. His father is South African, and she has spent a considerable amount of time getting his details so that she can get her son a South African identity document. Peemuk works within the realm of the state to ensure that her son has a secure future within South Africa. The act of getting a South African identity document for her son has material consequences, such as him being able to attend school and seek employment. Here, Peemuk does everyday resistance through maintaining a vision for a future in which her son has access to education and work in South Africa (Richter-Devroe, 2011).

Peemuk came to South Africa to make a better life for her family in Zimbabwe by sending money back home. She lives on her own with her young baby. Our connection has often been interrupted by her movements to and from Zimbabwe. When Peemuk first arrived in South Africa in 2008, she had had a visa to work. She tells the group: "But when I first came here, I went to *Pick 'n Pay*[10] to find a job. I had all my certificates with me. They want a South African ID and a matric certificate. Just for a job. I went to *Pick 'n Pay*. I went to *Shoprite*[11]. They told me the same thing." During her first time while in South Africa, she worked at *Something Fishy*[12] at the nearby mall. Her employment allowed her to live in Extension 10, a formal settlement on the fringe of Thembelihle. When I met her, she only had her passport and was no longer able to seek gainful employment in South Africa. Her shrinking capacity to obtain

[10] *Pick 'n Pay* the second largest supermarket chain in South Africa.
[11] *Shoprite* is the largest supermarket chain in South Africa.
[12] *Something Fishy* is a takeaway chain that serves seafood.

legally gainful employment demarcates contours of belonging. However, Peemuk demonstrates a steadfast and stubborn persistence to live her life within South Africa, despite the narrowing parameters that legally grant her home. This could be considered a form of quiet encroachment (Bayat, 1997, 2000) where Peemuk continues to claim physical space in systems that are actively restricting her movement.

Peemuk as a body out of place in the South African landscape (see Ahmed, 2000). In order to secure her roots legally in Thembelihle, she is required to return to Zimbabwe to get her visa renewed. When I asked what Zimbabwe is like, she replied: "Zimbabwe is a nice place, except for the economic hardship. There are no shacks in Zimbabwe. It is also safe there. Not like here." I ask her if it was worth moving to South Africa. She says yes because it is cheaper than Zimbabwe. She can send money back to her family, specifically for her younger sister. It is difficult when she is not working because her sister thinks being in South Africa means that she materially has everything. Even though Peemuk leaves a site of economic trauma, when she had a baby, she is unable to continue working. She often speaks about "when he is big enough" she will continue with work. Many Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa have done so to leave a collapsed economy, lack of jobs, hyper-inflation; human rights violations; and persecution of members of political opposition (Bloch, 2010). Movement to South Africa ensures survival of family remaining in Zimbabwe, where money can be sent home to support those remaining in Zimbabwe. This movement becomes a survival strategy (Bloch, 2010). This act of survival, although not resultant in systemic transformation, becomes a form of everyday resistance that ensures hers and her family's material survival. Her refusal to move back to Zimbabwe, despite the narrowing parameters in which she can seek employment, undermines broader systems of power that limit her ability to seek gainful employment as an African

foreign national. However, the act of remaining and seeking alternative ways to make an income do place Peemuk within a financially precarious position.

Peemuk is an entrepreneur and leverages on people's nostalgia for home by selling products from Zimbabwe to make home in Thembelihle. Many of her clients are Zimbabwean. She understands that home is embodied and held in memory. Through the selling of food products, the memory of home becomes relived through the senses - touch, taste, sight and smell. Peemuk has offered me some of the food products from Zimbabwe and in doing so, invites me to experience some of her homeland. However, after she has her baby, she is unable to work for a while (during the entire period I know her). Currently, she is reliant on the baby's father for money. He works on a mine in Randfontein. During the latter period of engagement with the forum, she has been unable to meet up with the Women's Forum because she is in Randfontein, trying to sort out the birth certificate for her child so as to ensure his South African citizenship. In doing this, Peemuk secures the home that her son can occupy and the citizen rights which will provide him with access to education and employment. However, these documents do not necessarily guarantee employment.

"I didn't have an ID. I did my matric last year. They told me I couldn't do my matric. But I kept going to class. I refused to stay home. I now have my matric," Bathandwa tells the group. She has a quiet determination to her voice. At an earlier stage of our engagement, when I had asked her if she has plans to study at a tertiary institution, she told me that she does not have a South African identity document. Her mother is from Mozambique and her biological father is not present in her life. She only has a clinic card. She was born in South Africa, but her parents never received her an identity document. Because of this, she cannot apply for university or

the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). Current citizenship processes are failing to be attentive to the complexity of citizenship in South Africa.

Because she does not carry 'appropriate' documentation, Bathandwa is denied citizenship and told that she is not able to complete her schooling. This denial of schooling is a denial of the potential to build a future. It is also a denial of belonging. The type of home she can make in South Africa becomes restricted. Affect is essential in the struggle against injustice. Bathandwa's defiance and bold disobedience is instrumental in her creation of justice for herself. She refuses cognitive and psychological erasure. Through this act of persistent showing up, Bathandwa does a kind of quiet encroachment (Bayat, 1997, 2000). Although boundaries of citizenship are demarcated through official documentation, she makes these borders permeable through sustained showing up. Here, Bathandwa does resistance through the creation of an 'ordinary' life, in which she can complete her schooling. Bathandwa also offers an alternative mode of resistance that bypasses the legislative landscape that determines how people can do citizenship within South Africa. While the borders for her to access matric are permeable, the lack of documentation to get into tertiary education makes pursuing further education, at this juncture, impossible.

Bathandwa, Lindokhule and Peemuk enact everyday resistance through persistent showing up – they become willful bodies in a system that is designed to further displace them (Ahmed, 2014). This is a quiet encroachment (Bayat, 1997, 2000) that expands the physical spaces in which they can live. The Women's Forum becomes a communal healing space in which the participants share tactics to resist exclusion and marginalisation. Scholarly conceptualisations of home, within the context of land dispossession and South Africa's migrant labour system, needs to consider the conditions under which movements across borders are done (Ahmed,

2000). Despite Peemuk not having the documentation needed to seek gainful employment in South Africa, she continues to search for innovative ways in which she can obtain an income, such as selling products from Zimbabwe to Zimbabweans living in Thembelihle and planning a business selling clothes. Each of these participants demonstrate everyday resistance through the steadfast and stubborn persistence to live ordinary lives and seizing opportunities for joy, solidarity and healing (Richter-Devroe, 2011).

Encountering Ancestors to Make Home

"In this journey of having a child, it's very difficult. Because I must also follow my spiritual journey, which is making me very sick." "Tell me about your spiritual journey," I ask. "Um, okay, the thing with me is that my grandfather was a doctor [Sangoma or spiritual healer] before he died. He gave me that thing, because it is ancestral. So, I have to go through that thing. They [her ancestors] don't give it nicely because I don't want it. They [her ancestors] are making me to be sick and they don't allow me to have children until I can do this thing that they want me to do," Anna's wrists and ankles are bound with cotton ropes. These are called prophet ropes. "That's why my hands are tied. My feet. My waist. Across here." She indicates that her body is also bound. In one of our earlier interactions, Anna told me that she is unable to conceive. The doctors have told her that there is nothing medically wrong with her or her husband, and that she should be able to have a baby. She said: "I went everywhere. I went to hospital. They can't help me. My husband doesn't have a problem. I don't have a problem. But the only problem is this journey that I have to take." As she has not had her first child, she cannot take part in cultural practices, which includes returning home to Lesotho, cutting her hair and seeing her family.

“In May, I must go to the river for some days, so I can finish the process. It is a far away. Which is stressing. I must go, leave my family. Leave my husband. Leave everything behind. And go and stay there. I came alone. I have to go with my pastor. But I will be going with and he will be leaving me there. For a certain number of time. So maybe when they come back, they can tell me what to do next, so I will be able to have children.” Anna tells me that over the last few months she has been experiencing mysterious physical ailments, such as fainting, foot swelling and hemi-spatial neglect. She further states, “Even my dreams. I can see them talking to me or feel that I am somewhere - not in the house, but somewhere near the river. I see them talking to me. I see them doing that ceremony with them.” She tells me that she has been called to become a *Sangoma* or a prophet.

A *Sangoma* is a traditional healer who does divining and healing through ancestral spirits. A prophet is a healer who works within the framework of the African Independent Churches (AICs). The ancestral spirit is transformed into the Holy Spirit (Kealotswe, 2005). However, there is not always a strict distinction between a *Sangoma* and a prophet, especially for those churches who believe in ancestral power (see Anderson, 1992; Kealotswe, 2005). Anna wishes to be a prophet, but says it is not up to her. Her ancestors will tell her what she will be when she completes her trip to the mountain. Until then, she spends three days a week at a local church in preparation. She says that she has been ignoring her ancestors and now they are becoming more forceful in their messages. Although Anna is tentative about becoming a prophet, through saying that she does not necessarily wish to become one, she also tells me: “I am seeing the light. My life wasn’t good. For now, I can see where I am going. For me to understand everything, I must go away. My ancestors block every way until I accept who I am” and “In order for me to live like any person, I have to accept this so I can be given another way. If I have to be a prophet, I’m fine to be a prophet. Wear the beads, not wear shoes at all.”

People continue with cultural practices from home countries in new communities. However, these rituals are dynamic and reconfigured in relation to mobility and new technologies (Nyamnjoh, 2014). Although no longer in Lesotho, Anna enacts a cultural resistance (Richter-Devroe, 2011) by holding onto her cultural beliefs despite her displacement. Previously, Anna has also told me that her husband is physically assaulting her. She partially attributes her inability to get pregnant to his violence. In order to make home in Thembelihle (with her husband) and return home to Lesotho to do her cultural practices, she must have an encounter with her ancestors at the mountain. This act of cultural resistance, then, not only allows her to retain some of Lesotho in her home in South Africa but also acts to secure her a position as a *Sangoma* in Thembelihle.

The process of becoming a *Sangoma* will also conclude cultural practices around making home with her husband after their marriage. Cultural resistance acts as a refusal to be a subject that can be viewed within the lens of Western society which privileges subjectivities that are rendered white (Richter-Devroe, 2011). Spatial reconfigurations of home involve a reconfiguration of the embodied self. In order to reconfigure the physical and social spaces in which she can move, Anna undergoes a physical and spiritual transformation through traversing the past and reconnecting with her ancestors. This transformation offers her hope of a transformed life in which she knows which path to walk and a physical healing of the various ailments that she was experiencing. This theme also demonstrates that temporal understandings of home are rooted in both collective and ancestral memory (Ahmed, 2000; Mason, 2007). Furthermore, this extends definition by examining this temporal dislocation of home as embodied within the subject – through ritual, practice and communing with ancestors. A

collective memory of home is remembered within the body. The body then becomes a site of resistance that disrupts hegemonic understandings of home.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this study constellate around three thematic foci. In the first theme, named *Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland*, I examine how experiences of home are tied to histories of land dispossession, requiring circular migration patterns between different homes. There is a resultant separation between homeland and lived home. This separation traverses the fault lines caused by South Africa's history of land dispossession, echoing historical migrant labour patterns between urban and rural spaces (Posel, 2010). Movement between these physical spaces has a financial cost and is restricted by structural violence. Movement between rural and urban spaces during childhood also reveal a tension between agricultural and cash-based economies, and paternal and maternal family. Home is also thought about in the sense of *ngwakabani*. Although traditionally associated with paternal kinship, the participant disrupts this and relates the sense of home to her maternal connections. In this theme, I speak to home as tied to memory, both individual and collective (Ahmed, 2000; Mason, 2007), and the importance of affect in relating to how at home the participant feels. Everyday resistance also occurs in the maintaining of community connections and repairing familial fault lines.

In the second theme, *Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports*, I examine how documentation (and the lack thereof) demarcates contours of belonging and home. Documentation allows for access to employment and education - both of which allow for participants to lay down roots in Thembelihle. Despite the impossibilities of obtaining documentation, the participants demonstrate everyday resistance through sustained showing up. They become "willful subjects" (Ahmed, 2014) who refuse to be physically, cognitively and psychologically erased.

For some participants, moving to South Africa (despite the threat of xenophobia and racism) ensures the survival of families who remain in their home country (Bloch, 2010). The Thembelihle Women's Forum also becomes a social space of solidarity for sharing joy, material survival strategies and acts of resistance (Packnett, 2017a, b; Walker, 1997).

In the third theme, *Encountering Ancestors to Make Home*, I speak to how home is negotiated through holding onto cultural traditions and movement backwards to encounter ancestors. Present time-space can also be interrupted by the past, and home can be (re)constructed through this bending temporality. Spatial reconfigurations of home are sometimes accompanied by reconfigurations of self through traditional cultural practices. These practices root the participants in cultural practices that disrupt colonial understandings of the world. These processes of moving back in time to encounter ancestors and traversing the South African landscape to perform traditional rituals in order to make home become a form of everyday resistance.

Conclusion

Across each of the different sections it is apparent that home has multiple dimensions, including spatial, temporal, material, diasporic, relational and affective. These dimensions exist in the materiality of everyday life. For the participants, the socio-historical context of colonialism and apartheid, and the resultant land dispossession, have material consequences in the production of home in contemporary South Africa. Journeys between homes are mediated and touched by broader relationships of social antagonism, where black women occupy a marginalised position in society. As conditions of direct and structural violence impact upon how home can be made, it is important to examine everyday resistance as a multidimensional concept that works across the multiple dimensions of home. The (re)creation of home involves

the expansion and contraction of the boundary between physical spaces and bodies, leading to an examination of not only how bodies (re)inhabit spaces, but how spaces (re)inhabit bodies (Ahmed, 2000). That is, we need to examine how people are able or not able to (re)inhabit individual, community, and institutional spaces according to intersections of identity, as well as how spaces (re)create intersections of identity that limit or allow for movement within space.

Experiences of home are tied to affectivity (hooks, 2009), such as grief (see Seaman, 1996) and feeling or failure to feel at home (Ahmed, 2000). In this study, love (or the lack thereof) is central to the affect of home and is pivotal to feelings of belonging. Home is tied to individual and collective tied to memory (Brah, 1996; Mason, 2007). The (re)construction of home is tied to reconnection with the past (Seaman, 1996). Displacement, both within South Africa and from neighbouring countries, becomes an issue of memory. However, the construction of space is not static. It is dynamic with multiple physical and affective components. The above stories allow us to think about psychological, cognitive and physical displacement in the relation to constructing home in contemporary South Africa.

Women's everyday resistance can act to (re)create and contest spaces in which they can create home through material survival strategies (e.g., by generating livelihoods and movement away from home countries to ensure financial security for families), cultural resistance (e.g., holding onto cultural traditions), and social and ideation resistance (e.g., holding onto hope and creating ordinariness) (Richter-Devroe, 2011). Participants also draw on quiet encroachment (Bayat, 1997, 2000) to expand the physical, mental and psychological spaces that they can occupy. Mamdani (1996) highlights the contradictory and complex nature of all resistance, and that transformation is tenuous and partial at best. Marginalised women engage in a number of tactics to (re)create and contest the physical spaces in which they can make home. Through their

movements within and beyond Thembelihle, they forge new communities - such as the formation of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. This making of home is complex and contradictory, with moments of connection and disconnection with one another, and the creation of new material spaces in which they can move. Some of the women assert their citizenship - despite a lack of documentation to 'prove' it - through persistence, sustained showing up and the creation of hope for their futures.

Central to marginalised women's resistance is the acts of persistence and refusal to be erased (Ahmed, 2014). Although these resistances are small, they mark meaningful ways in which they engage with systems of violence, such as histories of land dispossession and migrant labour that results in the desubjectification of black women. This is done through holding onto traditions and creating ordinariness within home spaces, even though these are marked with difficulty, with hope for a better future. This resistance, however, is often contradictory, difficult, and incomplete and does not result in total systemic transformation or even the substantial betterment of their lives. Their small encroachments into spaces of power often result in the space pushing back.

Everyday resistance and the creation of home is often embedded within the relational aspect. Embedded in this everyday resistance (and the possibility of resistance) is the relationships which the participants have with one another, their families, their friends and their various communities. This is demonstrated in the moments of collective solidarity, and relations between families and friends. Broader societal structures, additionally, are played out within these relationships. My next study examines the interpersonal dimension of everyday resistance more closely, drawing on the Thembelihle Women's Forum as a site of solidarity, healing and collective resistance.

References

Ahmed, S. (2014). *The cultural politics of emotion.* Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied Others in post-coloniality*. London, England: Routledge.

Askins, K. (2016). Emotional citizenry: Everyday geographies of befriending, belonging and intercultural encounter. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographies, 41*(4), 515-527.

Badgett, L., & Folbre, N. (1999). Assigning care: Gender norms and economic outcomes. *International Labour Review, 138,* 311–326.

Bayat, A. (1997). Cairo's poor: Dilemmas of survival and solidarity. *Middle East Report, Winter,* 1-6.

Bayat, A. (2000). From 'dangerous classes' to 'quiet rebels': Politics of the urban subaltern in the Global South. *International Solidarity, 15*(3), 533-557.

Bloch, A. (2010). The right to rights? Undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa. *Sociology, 44*(2), 233-250.

Blunt, A. (2005). Cultural geography: Cultural geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography, 29*(4), 505–515.

Bondi, L. (1998). Gender, class, and urban space: Public and private space in contemporary urban landscapes. *Urban Geography, 19*(2), 160-185.

Bonner, P. (1990). The Politics of Black Squatter Movements on the Rand, 1944–1952. *Radical History Review, 1990*(46-47), 89-115.

Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of diaspora: Contesting identities.* London, UK: Routledge.

Brickell, K. (2012). 'Mapping' and 'doing' critical geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography, 36*(2), 225–244.

Burman, E., & Chantler, K. (2004). There's no place like home: Emotional geographies of researching 'race' and refuge provision in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, 11*(3), 375-397.

Bryden, I. (2004). There is no outer without inner space: Constructing the haveli as home. *Cultural Geographies, 11,* 26-41.

Camlin, C. S., Kwena, Z. A., Dworkin, S. L., Cohen, C. R., & Bukusi, E. A. (2014). "She mixes her business": HIV transmission and acquisition risks among female migrants in western Kenya. *Social science & medicine, 102*, 146-156.

Carspecken, P. (1996). *Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. London, UK: Routledge.

Chaskalson, A. (2010). Dignity as a constitutional value: A South African perspective. *Am. U. Int'l L. Rev., 26,* 1377.

Chisholm, L. (2012). Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa. *Storia delle donne, 8,* 81-103.

Christou, A. (2011). Narrating lives in (e)motion: Embodiment, belongingness and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return. *Emotion, Space and Society, 4*(4), 249-257.

Clark, S. J., Collinson, M. A., Kahn, K., Drullinger, K., & Tollman, S. M. (2007). Returning home to die: Circular labour migration and mortality in South Africa. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health, 35*(69), 35-44.

Cox, K. R., Hemson, D., & Todes, A. (2004). Urbanization in South Africa and the changing character of migrant labour. *South African Geographical Journal, 86*(1), 7-16.

Duncan, N. (1996). Renegotiating gender and sexuality in public and private spaces. In N. Duncan (ed.), *Bodyspace: Destabilising geographies of gender and sexuality* (pp. 127-144). London, UK: Routledge.

Duyvendak, J. W. (2011). *The politics of home: Belonging and nostalgia in Western Europe and the United States.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fenster, T. (2005). The right to the gendered city: Different formations of belonging in everyday life. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *14*(3), 217-231.

Folbre, N. (1986). Hearts and spades: Paradigms of household economics. *World Development, 14*(2), 245-255.

Foley, D., Levinson, B. & J. Hurtig. (2001). Anthropology goes inside: The new educational ethnography of ethnicity and gender. In W. Secada (Ed.), *Review of research in education* (pp. 37-87). Washington DC: American Educational Research Association Publications.

Foley, D., & Valenzuela, A. (2005). Critical ethnography. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 217-234). New York, NY, USA: Sage.

Freire, P. (2000*). Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York, NY, USA: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Gouws, A. (1999). Beyond equality and difference: The politics of women's citizenship. *Agenda, 15*(40), 54-58.

Harington, J. S., McGlashan, N. D., & Chelkowska, E. Z. (2004). A century of migrant labour in the gold mines of South Africa. *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, *104*(2), 65-71.

Harris, O. (1981). Households as natural units. In C. Wolkowitz & R. McCullagh (eds.), *Of marriage and the market* (pp. 136–155). London, UK: Routledge.

Hedetoft, U., & Hjort, M. (2002). *The postnational self: Belonging and identity.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

hooks, B. (2009 [1990]). *Belonging: A culture of place.* New York, NY, USA: Routledge.

Imrie, R. (2004). Disability, embodiment and the meaning of the home. *Housing Studies 19,* 745-64.

Kealotswe, O. N. (2005). Acceptance and rejection: The traditional healer prophet and ids integration of healing methods. *Boleswa Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy*, *1*(1), 109-122.

Kloppers, H. J. & Pienaar, G. J. (2014). The historical context of land reform in South Africa and early policies. *SciELO, 17*(2), 677-706.

Lau, U. (2019). *'The township'and 'the gated community': a psychosocial exploration of home and the (a) symmetries of belonging* [Unpublished Doctoral dissertation]. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Lawson, V. (1998). Hierarchical households and gendered migration in Latin America: Feminist extensions to migration research. *Progress in Human Geography, 22*(1), 39-53.

Levinson, B. & D. Hollands. (1995). The cultural production of the educated person an introduction. In B. Levinson, D. Foley and D. Hollands (Eds.), *The cultural production of the educated person: Critical ethnographies of schooling and local practice* (pp. 1-54). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Makama, R. (2016). Stories of home and homelessness: Young men's experiences of Jo'burg city centre (Unpublished master's thesis). The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Mallet, S. (2004). Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. *Sociological Review, 52*(1), 62-89.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizenship and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Marcu, S. (2014). Geography of belonging: Nostalgic attachment, transnational home and global mobility among Romanian immigrants in Spain. *Journal of Cultural Geography, 32*(3), 326-345.

Massey, D. (1992). Politics and space/time. *New left review*, *196*, 65-67.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Mason, V. (2007). Children of the "Idea of Palestine": Negotiating identity, belonging and home in the Palestinian diaspora. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 28* (3), 271-285.

McEwan, C. (2000). Engendering citizenship: Gendered spaces of democracy in South Africa. *Political Geography, 19*, 627–651.

McFarlane, C. (2011). The city as assemblage: Dwelling and urban space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 29,* 649-671.

Murray, M. J. (2008). *Taming the disorderly city: The spatial landscape of Johannesburg after apartheid*. Ithaca, NY, USA: Cornell University Press.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013). *Empire, global coloniality and African subjectivity.* New York, NY, USA: Berghahn Books.

Ngwane, Z. (2003). 'Christmas time' and the struggles for the household in the countryside: Rethinking the cultural geography of migrant labour in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 29*(3), 681-699.

Nyamnjoh, H. (2014). Intimate ethnographic encounters in a mobile community: Expressing the notion of belonging through 'life crisis' performances amongst Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 29 (1), 133-158.

Olwig, K. (1998). Epilogue. Contested homes: Homemaking and the making of anthropology. In N. Rapport & A. Dawson (Eds.), *Migrants of identity: Perceptions of home in a world of movement* (pp. 225–236). Oxford, UK: Berg.

O'Neill, M., & Hubbard, P. (2010). Walking, sensing, belonging: Ethno-mimesis as performative praxis. *Visual Studies, 25*(1), 46-58.

Packnett, B. (2017a, March 2). Joy is resistance. [Tweet]. Retrieved: https://twitter.com/MsPackyetti/status/837439996038635520

Packnett, B. (2017b, August 21). I'm an activist, and joy is my resistance. Self. Retrieved: https://www.self.com/story/charlottesville-joy-is-resistance

Phala, R. A. K. (2013). A century of the notorious 1913 Land Act. *South Africa History Online.* Retrieved from: https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/A%20Century%20of%20the%20Notorious%201913%20Land%20Act.pdf.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, *16*(2), 175-196.

Posel, D. (2010). Households and labour migration in post-apartheid South Africa. *Studies in Economics and Econometrics*, *34*(3), 129-141.

Preston-Whyte, E. (1993). Women who are not married: fertility, 'illegitimacy', and the nature of households and domestic groups among single African women in Durban. *South African Journal of Sociology*, *24*(3), 63-71.

Richter-Devroe, S. (2011). Palestinian women's everyday resistance: Between normality and normalisation. *Journal of Women's International Studies, 12*(2), 32-46.

Rose, G. (1993). *Feminism & geography: The limits of geographical knowledge.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Saunders, P., & Williams, P. (1988). The constitution of the home: Towards a research agenda. *Housing Studies*, *3*(2), 81-93.

Seaman, P. A. (1996). Rediscovery of a sense of place. In C. D. Smith (ed.) *Strangers at home: Essays on the effects of living overseas and coming "home" to a strange land* (pp. 37-53). New York, NY, USA: Aletheia Publications.

Segodi, S. (2018, March 13). Op-Ed: The never-ending housing challenge – Reflection on Thembelihle. *The Daily Maverick.* Retrieved: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-03-13-op-ed-the-never-ending-housing-challenge-reflection-on-thembelihle/

Soyini Madison, D. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London, UK: Sage.

Trimikliniotis, N., Gordon, S., & Zondo, B. (2008). Globalisation and migrant labour in a 'rainbow nation': A fortress South Africa?. *Third World Quarterly, 29*(7), 1323-1339.

Uddin, N. (2011). Decolonising ethnography in the field: An anthropological account. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *14*(6), 455-467.

Unterhalter, E. (1990). The impact of apartheid on women's education in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy, 48*, 66-75.

van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany, NY, USA: State University of New York Press.

Villette, F. (2016, June 16). The effects of apartheid's unequal education system can still be felt today. IOL. Retrieved from: https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/the-effects-of-apartheids-unequal-education-system-can-still-be-felt-today-2035295

Villenas, S. & D. Foley (2002). Chicano/Latino critical ethnography of education: Borderlands cultural productions from La Frontera. In R.R. Valencia, (Ed.), *Chicano school failure and success: Past, present, and future* (2nd ed.) (pp. 195-226). London, UK: Routledge Falm.

Walker, C. (1990). Gender and the development of the migrant labour system, c. 1850-1930: An overview.

Walker, C. (1997). Cornfields, gender and land. In S. Meer (Ed.), *Women, Land and Authority: Perspectives from South Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Wanjiku Kihato, C. (2007). Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg. *African Identities, 5*(1), 89-110.

Wanjiku Kihato, C. (2013). *Migrant women of Johannesburg: Everyday life in an in-between city.* New York, NY, USA: Palgrave.

Wentzel, M. (2003). Historical and contemporary dimensions of migration between South Africa and its neighbouring countries. (Unpublished paper delivered at HSRC migration workshop, Pretoria 17-20 March 2003).

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology.* Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.

Wilson, F. (2011). Historical roots of inequality in South Africa. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, *26*(1), 1-15.

Wines, M. (2006, Jan 6). One South African's long climb out of illiteracy. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from: https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/09/world/africa/one-south-africans-long-climb-out-of-illiteracy.html

Worden, N. (1996). *The making of modern South Africa: Conquest, segregation and apartheid*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Young, I. M. (1997). *Intersecting voices: Dilemmas of gender, political philosophy and policy.* Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1993). Gender and nation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 16*(4), 621-632.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice, 40*(3), 197-214.

STUDY III

RELATIONAL ENCOUNTERS AS AN INVENTED SPACE FOR EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

Abstract

Interpersonal relations are a routine site of everyday resistance. The work towards restoring the everyday within societies is integral in restoring and rebuilding social worlds. Everyday resistance is conceptualised within this study as a relational praxis that is done through everyday encounters that women have with each other and their community. Drawing on critical ethnography, this study explores how the Thembelihle Women's Forum acts to address historical trauma. The data collected for this study were my encounters with members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. I analysed the data using interpretive phenomenological analysis. The findings yielded three themes*: (Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity*; *Finding Space to Speak*; and *Towards Collective Conscientisation*. In the first theme, viewing shame as political, I focus on the ways in which solidarity is an act of everyday resistance to dealing with the affect of shame. The second theme centres on how the Thembelihle Women's Forum opens up social spaces to tell narratives that are difficult to tell. Opening up social spaces to speak becomes an act of everyday resistance. The third theme illuminates how the Thembelihle Women's Forum is a platform that allows the participants to work towards conscientisation to individual and collective struggle and resistance. The study findings highlight that interpersonal relations, as a social space for everyday resistance, are fraught with tensions and contradictions. Relational encounters as everyday resistance is a dynamic, ongoing and interactive process embedded in contradictions, multiplicity and complexity.

Keywords: encounters; women; everyday resistance; social relations; invented space

Introduction

Late September 2018 was the court date for the finalisation of Lindokhule's protection order against her ex-boyfriend for assault. In South Africa, a protection order is a legal document that is issued by a Court. It orders a person, with whom the complainant has a domestic relationship, to cease being violent towards the complainant. In order for a complainant to be issued with a protection order they must demonstrate a pattern of domestic abuse against them (including physical, emotional, sexual, or financial abuse). Anna, Maseiso, Lungile and I accompany Lindokhule to the Lenasia Magistrate's Court. We park just across the road from the court, outside a row of small shops. There is a sense of anticipation among the group. We arrive around 09h30. I drove around Thembelihle earlier that morning to collect each of the Thembelihle Women's Forum members who wished to support Lindokhule. Anticipating the possibility of a protracted wait at the Court, we arranged to meet early that morning. I expected that we would wait some time, considering my previous interactions with state-institutions.

Lindokhule walks ahead of the group. While Anna, Maseiso and Lungile laugh and talk while we walk, Lindokhule remains quiet. I ask her quietly: "How are you feeling?" She replies: "Aye, Sarah, I am nervous." She shakes her head and laughs. The day before, Lindokhule had verbalised to me that she wondered whether or not it would be worth pursuing the protection order as the perpetrator had not signed the interim court order. The Lenasia Magistrate's Court building seems like it was built in the 1980s – typical apartheid architecture. The imposing brick structure conjures up feelings of the affective spectre of the apartheid state that is difficult to articulate. Tall, white columns hold up an imposing entrance. The National South African emblem is attached to old, brown tiles – a swop for the old National Party emblem. Red palisade fencing with brick columns surrounds the perimeter of the court. When we passed through security, we undergo body searches and our bags are checked. We immediately walk right, to

the grey containers on the perimeter of the court. The Family Court. As Lindokhule enters one of the structures, the rest of us wait on the benches outside. Maseiso's young daughter plays among the benches and poles while we wait.

The above is a story about quiet solidarity, showing up and witnessing. The story introduces the way in which subjectivity comes to be constituted by multiple encounters with others, objects, and institutions (Ahmed, 2000; Bayat, 1997; Jung Park, Fedler & Dangor, 2000). Power and hegemony are embedded within these encounters and come to shape possible interactions. The members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum show up not only in solidarity with Lindokhule's pursuit for justice in relation to her experience of gender-based violence, but also in contention with the secondary violence inflicted through bureaucratic state structures. South Africa has failed to transform gendered relations and create an equal citizenship for women in social, political, and economic arenas (McEwan, 2000). Resultantly, state-controlled institutions retain structures of violence that are enacted unevenly across lines of race and gender (Albertyn, 2007), with the consequence being that historical violence gets re-inscribed in the present. Histories of colonialism and apartheid are wrought into everyday relations between individuals, communities and institutions and affect our social relations, cognitive framings, and psycho-emotive lives. Considering this, the above story offers possibilities to examine solidarity and resistance at a relational level as interpersonal relations are a routine site of everyday resistance (see Scott, 1990).

In this study, I transition from examining women's encounters with official institutions to investigating women's social spaces for everyday resistance. More specifically, I examine everyday resistance as a relational praxis that is done through everyday encounters that women have with each other and their community. I also examine how the participants utilise the

interpersonal relationships that exist in the context of a community-based organisation as one such site of resistance. Specifically, I focus on the Thembelihle Women's Forum, which aims to empower women and girls in the social, economic and political arenas of their lives. Considering everyday resistance, I orient to everyday encounters between the members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum that illustrate the myriad of ways in which the women work to restore the basic fabric of social relations, provide continuity to their lives and determine a sense of self in relation with others within the mundane activities of the everyday (Kent, 2016).

Encountering the Literature

This literature review is organised into two sections. At the start of this literature review, I explore the notion of subjectivities and how subjectivities are constituted within encounters with one another and institutions. I then examine how histories of colonialism and apartheid have affected social relations, cognitive framings, and our psycho-emotive lives. In the final section, building on what I review in the first section, I consider everyday resistance within the context of social relations, with a specific focus on invented spaces of participation (Miraftab, 2006), which I understand as sites in which everyday resistance is performed.

Encountering Others and Institutions

Critical scholars have theorised subjectivity as being constituted by multiple encounters with others and institutions, both of which are shaped by a particular history of violence, oppression, and dispossession (Ahmed, 2000; Bayat, 1997; Jung Park et al., 2000). Considering this, Touri (2009) states that relational encounters are complex, shifting and contextually dependent positions that traverse different levels of power, including the individual, the structural and the representational. According to some scholars, understandings of race, class and gender then come into the constitution of subjectivities, which are embedded within the everyday as well

as the historicity of social spaces and intimate relations (e.g., Anderson, 2004; Lugones, 2010). Relational encounters, as conceived by Touri (2009), are entrenched within both personal and collective histories and are governed by power, politics and affect. Indeed, interpersonal encounters cannot be separated from broader oppressive structures and histories.

Histories of colonialism and apartheid are interwoven into the everyday relationalities and subjectivities. According to Alexander (2005), power and hegemony are mapped into the tapestry of the interstices of institutions and everyday life. Such mapping acts to uphold systemic violence, and cast this as something benevolent. Histories of colonialism and apartheid have, in other words, laid the foundations for extraordinary human suffering - rendered acceptable and ordinary - that have transformed social relations along raced, classed, and gendered divisions (e.g., Anderson, 2004; Lugones, 2008).

While Skeggs (1997) states that the social space is historically embedded (see also Anderson, 2004; Lugones, 2010; Touri, 2009), Ahmed (2000) cautions that social encounters are not fully determined by history. Indeed, histories are (re)opened in social relations within everyday encounters. Ahmed (2000, p. 156) states that:

> "in the encounter in which something might be said or heard, there are always other encounters, other speech acts, scars and traumas, that remain unspoken, unvoiced, or not fully spoken or voiced."

Ahmed (2000) indicates that histories are inserted into encounters in complicated, hidden, and dynamic ways that require a necessarily careful and ultimately incomplete analysis. Considering this literature, we cannot simply assume that contemporary social relations are entirely determined by history, nor are they entirely separate from the past. Instead, Ahmed

(2000) states that we must examine the complexity of how the traces of these histories play out in relationality. Drawing on Manganyi (1973), we can understand existence as occurring in dialogue and interaction which then opens up possibilities for changing, resisting and (re)producing these histories. Mamdani (1996) corroborates this by stating that these histories are resisted and (re)written within social interaction. As such, while histories of colonialism and apartheid, as well as associated subjectivities, might impact social encounters, it cannot conclusively be stated that these encounters are entirely defined by these histories. The impact of these histories on social encounters needs to be considered in a fine-grained analysis of social encounters.

Seminal work on the psychology of racism (Biko, 1978; Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967; Manganyi, 1978) provides insight into the impact of historical racism on communities. This work provides insight into the impact of racism on subjectivities. Fanon (1967) states that racial dynamics, which stem from colonisation, are psychically internalised and that acts of violence are (re)produced upon one another, thereby impacting both relationships with the self and others. These seminal works demonstrate that it is imperative to read relational encounters within broader structures of power (Biko, 1978; Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967; Manganyi, 1978). That is, according to Kessi and Boonzaier (2017), acts of violence between family members, friends and communities are often visible manifestations of broader oppressive structures.

Marginalised communities, as stated by Holmes (2008), are continuously exposed to negative discourses and images of self, and are positioned as lazy, inferior and unable to achieve. Holmes (2008) further argues that these societal-level oppressive forces can be internalised and result in the punishment of the self and others. That is, experiences of racism can interrupt valuing of self. This idea is not new. W.E.B. Du Bois' (1994) concept "double consciousness"

speaks to the multidirectionalilty of marginalised selfhood. Here, he argues that conceptions of self are embedded within "second sight" – where African Americans can see themselves as they are as well as how white America see them. The can also, however, be guided by dehumanising introjections. Biko (1978), drawing on the concept of "double consciousness", centred the psychological liberation of black people in the fight against oppression, recognising that the oppression of black people is as much psychological as it is physical. Biko (1978) states that double consciousness involves knowing that the construction of the world offered to black people is embedded within conceptions of white supremacy and the devaluation of blackness, which black people are forced to treat as truth. Double consciousness is knowing this is a lie while living its contradiction (Biko, 1978).

Kessi and Boonzaier (2017) argue that the examination of everyday life within post-colonial societies can be especially challenging as conflict and competition are intricately woven into the fabric of these societies. They state that this is exacerbated by global as well as local racist structures that have a profound impact upon the everyday. Economic poverty, HIV, gender-based violence and racism are embedded within power relations that give rise to social inequality in which violence and discrimination thrive. Compounding this, Dogra (2012) argues that violence and poverty are often depoliticised, which acts to legitimise global forms of exploitation and continue legacies of violence. According to Kessi and Boonzaier (2017), everyday relations and politics are propelled by social, economic and identity factors which substantially determine access to resources and a person's ability to participate in the social, economic, and political activities that are valued and recognised. Furthermore, they posit that a person's ability to participate in activities and promote their interests is demarcated by how they encounter other subjectivities, objects, and institutions.

Bayat (1997, 2000) states that there are limited resources for people who experience marginalisation to look after themselves and their families. This has had an indelible impact on broader social relations. He further argues that this system of violence makes it difficult for people who experience marginalisation to function, live and work within the parameters of societies that are impacted by histories of colonialism. However, marginalised communities act in various ways to expand the psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces that they occupy. Although Kessi and Boonzaier (2017) state that systems of power determine access to resources, such as healthcare, education and employment, they also state that this access is not fully determined by larger structural levels. Rather, they are negotiated through everyday interactions. They explicate this by saying that it is through relationships, both intimate and with strangers, that the politics of belonging and exclusion are performed (see also Lugones, 2010). Considering this, in the next section of this literature review I examine everyday resistance within interpersonal relations.

Interpersonal Relations, Everyday Resistance and Invented Spaces

Interpersonal relations are a routine site of everyday resistance (see Scott, 1990). Vinthagen and Johansson (2013), in their examination of the various theories of everyday resistance, argue that resistance in relation to power is a dynamic, ongoing and interactive process of contradictions, multiplicity and complexity at an interpersonal level. Therefore, social agents are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators who (re)produce existing structures through contestation, struggle, and partial penetration (Lilja, 2008; Scott, 1990). Critical scholars then state that within interpersonal relations, agents of resistance can be both the subject and object of power, promoting power-laden discourses while, concurrently, being change agents (Lilja, 2008; Scott, 1990). Here, people endure ranking and oppression and can endorse repressive "truths" while simultaneously inflicting violence and doing resistance

within their intimate relationships. Considering this, structures of racism are then not passively consumed by people, but are actively resisted and (re)produced within social encounters.

Examining everyday resistance in social relations, according to Kent (2016), requires paying attention to relational, embodied and nonverbal ways of responding to enduring legacies of violence. This, according to Meth (2010), requires considering the complex social relations in which women's resistance and agency are embedded (see Kent, 2016). Kent (2016) argues that scholars need to examine the myriad of ways in which people pursue mundane activities that work towards restoring the basic fabric of intimate social relations, recreate protective mechanisms and create a sense of continuity within their lives and solidify a sense of self in relation to others. All of these relational encounters are enactments of everyday resistance which work towards restoring social worlds.

Kessi and Boonzaier (2017) argue that in contexts of inequality, violence and oppression, people engage in various forms of resistance in order to change their circumstances and claim access to resources and social justice. In their work on community oral histories, Cornell, Seedat, Malherbe and Suffla (2020) state that histories of colonialism and apartheid can have significant consequences for understanding contemporary struggles and social fault lines within and between communities and individuals. Cornell et al. (2020) argue that material and discursive contestations within communities - caused by historic and current experiences of oppression, exploitation and inequality - may result in community members becoming stuck in antagonistic subject positions that (re)produce and solidify hostile representations of the self and the other. They further argue that this may foreclose generative intersubjective dialogue as well as shape possibilities for solidarities, which are imperative for social justice. However, they caution such foreclosure does not preclude the opening up of spaces for resistance. Indeed,

communities may action movement towards healing in relation to one another, and work towards reconstructing their communities towards a generative future. Kent (2016), in her work with women in Timor-Leste, states that restoring the everyday within societies characterised by violence is integral to restoring and rebuilding social worlds.

Everyday resistance is practiced in a number of spaces. These include Miraftab's (2006) conceptualisation of invited (officially sanctioned, formal spaces by government) and invented (informal grassroots resistance that is not located within sanctioned arenas) spaces. Miraftab (2006) introduced these concepts within the context of South Africa when examining how previously excluded populations have gained rights but their material realities have not been sufficiently attended to. In the rejection of the binary constructions of formal/informal spaces for resistance, feminist research has demonstrated that community-based activism is an important space for the consideration of a variety of engaged actions (Miraftab, 2004). Indeed, Miraftab (2004) asserts that community-based activism traverses both formal and informal spaces and can act to extend the arena of politics and citizenship (Miraftab, 2004). According to Miraftab's (2006, 2009) work, in encompassing both invited and invented spaces of activism and participation, insurgent community-based practices assist people to substantively claim their right to public space and help imagine a different world. Indeed, Ay and Miraftab (2016) state that invented spaces play an important role in the reconfiguration of social spaces.

Miraftab's (2006, 2009) concepts of invented and invited spaces of citizenship help us to conceptualise how encounters with institutions are complex, shifting and contextually dependent. Scholarship has examined the ways in which people can occupy, control and own space and partake in activities which locate resistance within social, economic, and historical space (see Hammond, 2013; Mitchell, 2015). Acts of resistance, in both invited and invented

spaces, need to be examined with reference to the complex, multiple and contested ways in which people act to (re)shape social, economic, and political ways of being (Oldfield & Stokke, 2007). These studies of invented spaces for resistance have predominantly focused on broader social movements and insurgent practices such as protests, ballots, pickets, stayaways, boycotts and strikes. However, less research has paid attention to fine-grained, mundane interactions between the subjectivities of those on the margins of social and public recognition within invented spaces of resistance.

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates

This study draws on the conceptualisation of invented spaces (Miraftab, 2006) (with a focus on the Thembelihle Women's Forum as an invented space for resistance) while harnessing the study's broader conceptual framework (liberation psychology, geopolitical feminism and affective economies). This conceptual framework locates resistance within social, economic and historical space and pays attention to who can occupy, own, control and enact specific activities in that space (see Hammond, 2013; Mitchell, 2015). This study not only examines public space but also interpersonal spaces. The (re)production of space occurs within the struggle for power, resources and recognition (Vigneswaran, Iveson & Law., 2017). Such understandings tie into geopolitical feminism, which examines how local and global processes result in inequality, exclusion and marginalisation, and how these are re-produced and resisted. Through the examination of the Thembelihle Women's Forum as an invented space that reflects collective and reflexive acts of resistance which aim to promote well-being, this study facilitates an understanding of how resistance is inserted within social relations as specified by liberation psychology and feminist geopolitics. That is, this study examines some core concepts of liberation psychology, including critical consciousness, as an emotional and cognitive

process for developing awareness and understanding of social inequalities; and problematising and denaturalising everyday reality within the Thembelihle Women's Forum. Following affective economies, this study also focuses on how affect functions within invented spaces between the participants. In short, this study is interested in how acts of everyday resistance do an affective reimagining of people's social worlds.

Aims and Objectives

This study aims to examine the everyday ways in which women enact everyday resistance through a relational practice within the invented space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. Considering my study's theoretical coordinates and the literature I have reviewed, this study is guided by the following questions:

1. How does a group of marginalised women perform everyday resistance through relational practices in the context of an invented space of resistance?
2. How does affect function between subjectivities within the space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum?
3. How are histories of colonialism and apartheid resisted and reproduced within the space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum?

Method

In this study, I use critical ethnography as my mode of data collection, specifically focusing on the Thembelihle Women's Forum. The data are analysed with interpretive phenomenological analysis.

The Thembelihle Women's Forum. The Thembelihle Women's Forum began as the idea developed by Lisa, the first participant of my study. The Forum was not an intended component

of my study. It was initially driven by the group, and I was invited to attend their meetings. The aim of the Forum is the empowerment of women and girls in the social, economic and political arenas of their lives. The Women's Forum seeks to achieve this through developing a network of resources for women; skills and sustainable livelihoods; safe spaces for women to share and talk; intergenerational support structures; and community cohesion. The number of members in the Forum fluctuates but has a core of three members who consistently show up to meetings.

I understood the group as being characterised, since its conception, by a lack of punctuality and absenteeism, and hindered by difficulties in finding a suitable meeting place. These factors have often been explicitly noted and taken up by Forum members in their engagements with each other. In my experience of conducting community-engaged research, this unpredictability and instability are 'normal'. Participants' involvement and presence at the Forum's meetings is often impacted by childcare (especially of sick children), finding casual jobs, finding full-time employment, migration and travel, incidences of violence, religious commitments, poor communication between group members, and shifting group dynamics when members are absent. The leadership of the group continually shifts to accommodate for these changes. The group was also impacted by the various demands my job made on me at the time. Indeed, I often travelled to Cape Town, had other work obligations, or had to attend other meetings.

Because Thembelihle is severely resource constrained, finding a place to meet to which members of the Forum had easy access, was challenging. Towards the end of 2019, they started meeting at one of the local churches. Despite establishing formally allocated roles and responsibilities, and clearly communicating the times and place of the meetings at the beginning of 2019, the group still struggled to meet up until late 2019. My data collection

was completed at the beginning of 2020 prior to my relocation to Cape Town. The group often undergoes processes of reconstitution, and at the time of this write-up is reconvening and reviewing its mandate. These disruption in the (re)constitution of the Thembelihle Women's Forum required me to take a step back and remove expectation from the research process. As the Thembelihle Women's Forum was not an original objective of my doctoral studies, and arose organically in the process, the interruptions in the constitution of the Forum did not significantly disrupt or shift my research objectives. Instead, the analysis of the Forum had to be embedded in what actually happened as opposed to insistence on a linear route of setting up the structure of the Forum. Furthermore, these disruptions are not analytically insignificant. Like the work done by Molebe (2016), the ongoing trauma of living within conditions of structural violence is largely disruptive. These disruptions may be playing out in the Forum's attempts to meet and continue to create a generative place in which to work towards their mandate (i.e., the empowerment of women and girls).

Data Collection and Procedure. Located within a broader ethnographic study, this study drew from critical ethnography (described in Study II). As discussed in Study II, central to critical ethnography as method is an ethical commitment to address inequality and social injustice (Soyini Madison, 2012). The focus of the data collection for this study was my encounters with the Thembelihle Women's Forum members. I collected data at the weekly sessions spent with the members of the Forum between 2018 and early 2020. Forum members arranged meetings which were often communicated via the WhatsApp group. Forum meetings also took place during community-engaged activities at the Unisa ISHS. The data collected involved group conversations. The data consisted of audio recordings, which were later transcribed, and my observation notes. After a data collection session with the participants, I immediately recorded observation notes. These notes included a summary of the interaction, some initial analytic thoughts, and reflections on the process of the data collection. Within the context of the Forum,

some conversations in which the members wished to exclude me remained untranslated by them. The conversations with the Forum members occurred within Thembelihle itself, such as at various participants' homes, during community walkabouts, at a local church, at various state-controlled organisations (such as SAPS and the magistrate's court), and the Unisa ISHS offices.

Data Analysis. As with Study II, this study draws on interpretive phenomenological analysis. To reiterate in brief, my analysis was broadly guided by Willig's (2013) three analytic strategies: emersion, clustering of data into emergent themes and providing structure to the analysis. Interpretive phenomenological analysis, which is focused on how people experience the world, as related to their context, identity and temporal location (Willig, 2013), is a useful tool to analyse the data that was generated in the Forum's interactions.

The first stage, data emersion, involved (re)listening to the audio recordings of the Forum, transcribing the audio recordings, as well as re-reading the text and my observational notes. I recorded notes on my initial thoughts and observations about the data. These notes also included links to literature, conversations with my supervisors, initial analytic comments, and records of reflexive processes. Furthermore, at each stage, I used my notes and observations to inform the remaining data collection activities and processes. As I collected a diverse and extensive amount of data, I selected data for this study that focused specifically on the data collected from the Forum.

I then clustered the data into emergent themes, which is the second stage of the data collection process (Willig, 2013). These themes were informed by my theoretical coordinates. These thematic foci were orientated around the everyday resistance of marginalised women in relation

to the Thembelihle Women's Forum as an invented site of resistance. This clustering also paid attention to the feminist geopolitics and situates social space as one of the central analytic concerns, and how affect circulates between the members of the Forum.

In the third stage of my analysis, I provided structure to the analysis (Willig, 2013) - that is, structuring my analysis to tell an analytic story about the different thematic foci in relation to one another. I selected stories to introduce each of these themes. This stage involved many iterations of writing and thinking (van Manen, 1990). For the purposes of this study, I paid careful attention to the concepts of social rupture and repair within everyday relations.

As with Study II, this analysis goes beyond merely presenting the data (Willig, 2013). The data were analysed against this study's theoretical framework, playing attention to liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics, affective economies and the concept of invented spaces for resistance.

Encountering Others in Acts of Disruption and Collective Agency

Based on my analysis of the ethnographic data, three core themes emerged. The first theme, *(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity,* is centred around Maseiso's story about being illiterate and how that influences the ways by which she can inhabit the social space within the Thembelihle Women's Forum, as well as how Anna does solidarity in relation to Maseiso. This theme illuminates how shame functions politically. It also carefully explicates the ways in which these participants do everyday resistance, through quiet encroachment, becoming a "willful subject" (Ahmed, 2014) and through forging solidarity in action. The second theme, *Finding Space to Speak,* traces a conversation surrounding GBV with the members of the Women's Forum. Within this interaction, Anna chooses to disclose her experiences of GBV to

the group. While some of the participants do everyday resistance through talking, others interrogate the complexities around speaking up within contexts where limited change happens from speaking. This theme focuses on the complexity and contradictions in everyday resistance within social interaction. The third theme, *Towards Collective Conscientisation*, speaks to how the Thembelihle Women's Forum is a platform that allows the participants to work towards conscientisation of individual and collective struggle and resistance. According to Freire (1970), the process of conscientisation is that of developing a critical awareness of social and political ills in the struggle for freedom. The process of collective conscientisation is the cultivation of this critical consciousness within a collective setting. This theme highlights the messy and complex movement towards solidarity.

(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity

Clutched in Maseiso's hands is the stack of papers upon which I had printed out the alphabet for her. Each letter was accompanied by a picture and faded letters that were to be traced over. We are sitting in a community meeting at the Unisa ISHS offices. Anna is sitting next to Maseiso and me. The pages were folded in half, masking the content. Maseiso had earlier in our relationship expressed that she feels shame for not being able to read and write: "I don't want to tell the other Women's Forum people. She will laugh at me! So, I don't say anything, you see." I had printed images to paste over the Euro-American centric references tied to each letter. J for jack o'lantern. This was one of many examples that stretched far from the context in which we are located. As the meeting ends, Anna says to both of us: "Those papers look interesting. I would also like to do them. Maseiso and I can do them together." Anna can read and write.

Shame functions politically (Ahmed, 2000, 2004a, 2004b, Bartlett, 2007) and serves as a social mechanism that polices patriarchal and racial inequalities (Shefer & Munt, 2019). Shame and shaming processes are intimately tied up with social inequality, both reflecting and (re)producing social injustice (Shefer & Munt, 2019). Indeed, we cannot think about shame without thinking about the ways in which shame intersects with race, class, and gender identities (Shefer & Munt, 2019). That is, shame and shaming processes are both personal and political, and function to silence and 'Other' people who experience marginalisation (Shefer & Munt, 2019). When considering shame, Bartlett (2007, p. 548) asks: "What is accomplished through the micropolitics of shame and shaming?" She answers this question by stating that shame around illiteracy acts to maintain and produce social inequality through obscuring the social factors central to the production of inequality and individualises the responsibility for illiteracy. Literacy is unequally distributed along raced, gendered, age, classed and citizenship lines. Although South Africa has a high literacy rate, 94% for women and 95.6% for men (Maluleka, 2019), illiteracy rates disproportionately affect adult women. Furthermore, language is located within social relations, and tied to the control of knowledge, labour, and land (Veronelli, 2015). Here, we can see that relational encounters - governed by power, politics and affect - are embedded within personal and collective histories (Touri, 2009). That is, those who can speak and write English have greater social capital and power. It is possible here to see how the (re)production of social space is tied to the struggle for power, resources, and recognition (Vigneswaran et al., 2017).

Shame is intricately tied to the oppression of marginalised communities and subjectivities and acts to sustain traumatic inequalities (Shefer & Munt, 2019). In telling me that she cannot disclose that she is illiterate to the Forum, Maseiso tells a story about horizontal shaming from members of the same community. Horizontal shaming is defined as shaming within social

groups and is tied to scarce resources, where even small forms of capital - symbolic, social, and economic - are significant and need to be competed for (Barlett, 2007). Then, within local social arrangements, community members define the parameters of the linguistic market for each other, and in doing so, have the chance of gaining higher social status (Barlett, 2007). The linguistic market speaks to linguistic capital. Maeseiso, here, demonstrates mistrust of the other members of the Forum as well as me. It took her a few months to disclose her illiteracy to me ("You see, I do not want to come to Unisa. I don't want to come and take for *mahala*[13]. I cannot write. Sarah, I am suffering… I don't want nothing for *mahala.* I see everyone comes to Unisa and makes notes."). She also demonstrates her mistrust of the Forum members through her fear of being "laughed at" or having her story told elsewhere. Therefore, the affect of mistrust acts as an important barrier between community members and their violent surroundings. Through choosing not to disclose, Maeseiso protects herself from imagined ridicule or expulsion from the study. Anna undercuts broader social structures that result in horizontal shaming by positioning herself as being willing to learn with Maseiso.

Despite this shame, Maseiso and Anna resist the individualisation of the responsibility of literacy and create a small space of social closeness in which they can do the work of expanding the social spaces in which they can move. There is a growing solidarity in recognising experiences of collective engagement. There is a restoration of dignity in the process of learning to read and write. For her, learning to read and write is about securing a future and dignity for herself (Maseiso has said to me: "You see, Sarah, if I can learn how to write, then I can be no longer so suffering. Then life, she would be better."). There is a sense of quiet encroachment (see Bayat, 1997), where the women push boundaries aimed at not only their survival, but a small improvement in their lives. The act of learning to read and write is

[13] "For free" or "for nothing".

symbolically salient for Maseiso. This everyday resistance is not aimed at total system transformation but persists despite continued and relentless exclusion rendered in violent social structures. Instead, this act of resistance creates a sense of dignity and future. Maseiso, then, becomes a "willful subject" (Ahmed, 2014) who - as an act of disobedience in a system that disciplines through shame - works towards fighting shame through the social solidarity offered by other Forum members.

Shame is paradoxical. Indeed, Holmes (2015) states that in the confessing of shame, shame dissipates. That is, when shame is confessed publicly - to family, friends, and communities - the negative effects are deactivated (Holmes, 2015). Shame acts to isolate and is often an incommunicable experience. In Maseiso's confession to me (and, later, to the Thembelihle Women's Forum) about her illiteracy, she disrupts the isolating effect of shame by bringing people into her experience.

Finding Space to Speak

"I think Anna has something to say," Lisa encourages Anna to speak. This is the second time in the conversation she has hinted that Anna has something to confess to the group. Lisa acts to assist Anna in speaking to the group. "Um, firstly I'd like to say I'm very thankful for this group. I never thought in life I would be talking about the things I am going to talk about. But I think now I want to let it out. It's been a long time now that I've kept everything secret. When I grew up, I grew up on my own. If I can say that. Why? Because I left school. I grew up at my grandmother's house (after eight years) - after a couple of years, my mother got married. We lived with that man. That is where the pain began."

Anna continues, “My mother would be beaten and everything. She would cry inside her room but not say anything. I used to say whatever I wanted to say. Ask her in front of everyone. My sister left the house and got married. Then I was left to be there for my younger brothers and sisters. Then this man, when my mother was not there, I would have to be the wife. Um, I had to do everything my mother used to do. Bedroom things. Kitchen stuff. He would tell me if I don’t sleep with him, my brothers and my sisters would not be able to go to school and I will be thrown out of the house. As a child, I didn’t know what I was doing. I did whatever he told me to. Then he would pull out a gun and tell me not to say anything to anyone. I must act completely normal when my mother is back. Then I would do the same, because every time I would say to my mother, ‘This husband of yours is doing this and this and this and this.’ She would say, ‘No, you’re wrong. He can’t do this to us.’ I end up at the age of 18, I left the house, I didn’t know where to go- where I was going, what to do. I lived on the street until I found a new home - I knew that it was a good home actually. There was a lady who found me on the street. She kept me to her house.”

“I lived there until I was 20. I left there because every time I sit alone, I think of these things. I look at my mother and everything comes back. I feel like I can kill him or do something. But there’s this thing that keeps me back. What about my younger brothers and sisters? What will happen if I do that? Because I don’t even know where my father is. When I ran from home, I got some money, and lived here [South Africa]. When I was here, I met a guy from home [Lesotho]. It was when I found my father. My father was here. Then at least I have peace. I can’t tell anyone what happened. When I go home- when I think of going home and meeting this- I don’t know what to call him, father or what? I just look at him and the same things come back. I can’t be there. Then I got married – have my own family and my life. The whole time, I feel like I can’t trust men. I am with him and he is wonderful, and I am happy but the other

day, when I wake up, I will just be angry at him. Just feel like I don't want him in my life. Why is he here? I want him to go. I just can't. So, every time we celebrate this month, I actually don't go out."

Anna's story that is told within the Forum meeting is done within the context of South Africa's Women's Month – August. Women's Month pays tribute to the 9 August 1956 march, where 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest the extension of the pass laws[14] (SAGov, 2020). This conversation happens just after some members of the Forum joined the #TheTotalShutdown march in the Pretoria CBD. This march can be viewed as a continuation of women's struggle for equality within South Africa. At the start of the meeting, each of the participants stated that they were "tired". "Tired", as described by Ahmed (2014), is anger without hope that leads to a sense of despair or tiredness, accompanied with a sense of inevitability that something will repeat itself in the everyday. This tiredness stems from repetition and the continuation of high levels of GBV. It functions as the framing for the conversations to follow.

The question arises: Does putting voice to something really help? Disclosing, without the potential for change to happen, is exhausting, demonstrated in the affect of "tired" (Ahmed, 2014). It is therefore important to consider one's refusal to speak as having an important function in everyday resistance. Coping mechanisms may be undergirded by resentment, resistance, and reclamation (Bayat, 1997). The broader rhetoric around GBV centres 'breaking the silence'. This narrative represents a type of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990) that marginalises women who choose not to speak about their experiences of violence. Women who

[14] Pass laws was a way of governing the movement of black people within apartheid South Africa, away from so-called white areas.

refuse to do so are positioned as being disempowered as there is said to be limited possibilities for change without speaking up (Kent, 2016). However, within social spaces where speaking out against GBV results in no material change, breaking the silence is not truly emancipatory (Kent, 2016). Here, Anna, in her narrative, tells the members of the Forum that speaking out does not necessarily have an immediate impact. Refusal to speak as a form of everyday violence has contradictory effects. While it illuminates broader societal structures that keep GBV in place despite women speaking out, this refusal may also limit the ways in which the participants can access assistance and support.

GBV is often constructed as something that is private and that needs to be addressed within the family (for example, Peemuk states later in the conversation: "You go to the police, and then they say he's your husband. You must sort it out"; and Anna telling me much later in the data collection process, when she is applying for a protection order from her husband, "The women down the road- they say I must sort it out with my husband. The protection order is from the police. This is a family issue"). Encounters with state actors, such as the police and community members, act to relegate GBV to the private sphere. This limits the actions available to Anna to seek justice. In this story, it is possible to see how power and hegemony in relation to GBV are woven into the tapestry of everyday life (Alexander, 2005). That is, structures that uphold broader systems of power regarding gender and violence are entrenched within everyday interactions with others and institutions (Ahmed, 2000; Bayat, 1997; Jung Park et al., 2000).

Anna positions herself as thinking that she would never speak about her experience (even though Lisa hints that she has spoken about this with her before). Despite this, Anna does speak about her experience with the Forum in this interaction. She also tells the forum that she spoke up when the sexual violence was happening when she tells her mother. Although the story is

difficult to tell, considering community and societal silence around GBV, Anna speaks despite this. However, even in the speaking, there is a lack of change ([Her mother] would say, 'No, you're wrong. He can't do this to us').

The group is silent for a very long time after Anna tells her story. There is a heaviness in the group. Lisa addresses the group: "How must she paint her house with her husband? How do we support her to not feel the way she feels when she is with her husband? How must she forget the way she feels? We must think of a way forward. We must still go away forward. This is our stance. Because how can she make sex with this man, because if I see my husband, I see the behind one. I'm just thinking of the behind things. So that's the thing we must help her to go through with it to forget her past. And he must make his home with his husband. How do we do that?" Lisa, here, emphasises the need for survival. Forgetting and moving forward from the experiences of sexual violence is important for her to make home with her husband as it means having an income and a house. There is an understanding that beyond this, there is little support for women who have experiences of violence.

Anna's option for survival, according to Lisa, is to forget her past so she can secure her present. Forgetting and distancing herself from the trauma, then, is offered by Lisa as a way of surviving. Lisa also demonstrates the difficulty of acknowledging and speaking about GBV. This is seen through Lisa's own difficulty in sitting with Anna's disclosure. GBV becomes a public secret (see Kent, 2016), that is, knowledge which is widely known but cannot be acknowledged or spoken about. That is likely due to the shame of sexual violence, effective policing and legislative systems, and the unwillingness of patriarchal society to shift systems that contribute to GBV. Forgetting then becomes a mechanism not to speak about or acknowledge sexual violence, which is something pervasive and endemic to the lived realities

of many women in South Africa. In doing this, sexual violence cannot, however, be fully emotionally engaged with. Instead, it must be fixed and forgotten. Lisa does a protective closing down - what does it mean to get into the feelings of violence when it is so pervasive and likely to happen again? This closing down is paradoxical. Indeed, in doing this closing down, she also protects the system. Here, her resistance is contradictory.

"We can start with - we are like talking about this thing. As we are talking, we can see in between us that there are some of us facing these challenges too. I think if we have counselling sessions too, that will help. If we have that first, we could know the issue. As I see, we must first deal with this thing in between us before we reach out to other people. Because in between us, I can see that this thing is too - this thing is in us. So, first we must help each other, ourselves first. Then from there, if everyone is certain. If everyone is strong, we can reach out to others," Peemuk offers an alternative way of engaging with Anna's story. GBV is constructed as being within the body, individually and in the group as a collective. Peemuk recognises the collective experience of GBV, rather than focusing on Anna's individual experience. Through recognition of the pervasiveness of GBV, Peemuk offers a social space where the group can forge collective solidarity and healing for and among themselves.

"During the march, there were so many women that are going through this. There at the march I was free. I could see that everyone was talking. We were free. It was amazing. I like the march very much. If we could do that here, in Thembelihle, and do that kind of thing. Get women together. There are women who are still - who are being abused. If we could do this more often, it would be very good. So, I think we should do it," Lindokhule adds to the story. "Because some other ladies, when we were passing through the street, they were at work. But they came and supported." Lindokhule's contribution allows the group to begin to speak about opening

the social space for having regular meetings. Lindokhule reflects on the invited space of resistance that was opened up through #TheTotalShutdown march. The march is positioned as a relational space in which women are free to talk about their experiences together. The demonstration of collective solidarity is constructed as a way to work towards a remedy for GBV. The group, within their invented space, opens transformative possibilities of freedom.

Peemuk brings the group back to Anna's story. "After Anna was speaking, everyone got a little bit quiet. I think everyone got a little bit emotional. I think it would be okay if everyone said how they felt it. Just from every individual. How did they feel about the experience? Because after she talk, everyone went quiet. Everyone was a little bit emotional. Each and every one should say their feelings." Addressing the affect among the group members in the conversation, as invited by Peemuk, is an act of healing. Emotions are privileged in this conversation. Peemuk demonstrates that emotions circulate between bodies and are never solely owned by the individual (Ahmed, 2000; Wetherell, 2012). Anna's story impacts not only on her but on the group. Peemuk invites the group to be openly affected by Anna's story.

"Ah, Lisa, it's very difficult, as you know, in our Thembelihle. If I'm not lying, remember last time. The women had a child. The child was raped by the stepfather. We're used to it. As she talked about it, I think she must just try to calm down and find her own way to deal with this. Because this situation, for his house actually, I think she must find a way to make her marriage to be okay. Because, the difficulties, we always face it. Because there are many things around Thembelihle. But as we live there, we see them. We face them every day. That child, I think she can't walk because her stepfather is raping her. We're used to that. That's good. You can walk. You have your parts. I don't know that child if she can talk or if she can walk. So, you are brave." Lisa offers a story of a child who does not fully 'survive' the trauma of sexual

violence, and constructs Anna as needing to be grateful. She rewrites the institutional dismissal, as seen in Study I. The use of extreme case formulation ("I don't know if the child can talk or if she can walk") and externalising devices (a story of someone unknown to the group) creates emotional distance. Lisa then also partially reinscribes women's roles in the production of patriarchy (see Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 2001). Here is one way in which it is possible to see the internalisation of broader oppressive structures and the historical impact of racism on communities where acts of violence are (re)produced upon one another (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Biko, 1978; Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1967; Manganyi, 1978). The option she is offered retains the symbolic boundaries of gendered roles within society. Should women be required to behave, think and relate in a certain way? What does it mean for Anna not to be able to maintain her relationship with her husband within the prescribed ways? Women's roles are strictly delineated in society and these roles are kept in place by other women. Through this construction, Lisa closes the social space in which women can move in. However, it is important to note that Lisa positions Thembelihle as a "difficult" place to live, and that GBV is pervasive and unavoidable within Thembelihle. Women are constructed as unable to escape these realities. Retaining the patriarchal structure is then positioned as something that is safe for Anna. Should her marriage be "okay", then she has a safer physical space to occupy within Thembelihle.

However, the above analysis is said with caution. Touri (2009) reminds us that relational encounters are complex, shifting and contextually dependent. Women are often situated at the centre of accountability for violence perpetuated against both themselves and their children (Alexander, 2005). As such, burden of accountability and criminality shifted from a focus on the perpetrator to becoming about the surveillance of women, who are positioned as both victim and manager of these violences (Alexander, 2005). As acts of violence between community

members are reflective of broader oppressive structures (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017), understanding Lisa's partial reinscription of patriarchal structures offers some insight into the broader oppressive structures that operate within Thembelihle. Although women may perform everyday resistance that reproduces patriarchal structures, this must be read in a way that does not shift the burden of responsibility onto women. Lisa's partial reinscription of women's roles in the production of patriarchy stems from an understanding of the pervasiveness and inescapability of GBV in Thembelihle. Remaining with and working on a marriage provides, for example, economic security for Anna. Resistance needs to be directed towards interconnected systems of oppression in ways that examine the layered ambiguities and possibilities for contestation (Hart, 1991).

These varied responses to Anna's story give us a sense of the complexity of the nature of domination and resistance (Abu-Lughod, 1989). Domination, through GBV, removes social space for engagement or feeling. Resistance is then difficult, considering talking about GBV is challenging. In this group process, there is also movement towards de-ideologising reality (Burton & Kagan, 2005; Montero, 2007). That is, the participants problematise and destabilise the social world through interrogating multiple aspects of the experience of GBV. The group takes collective responsibility for working through the experiences brought into the group space to gain insight into individual and collective trauma and create more generative futures where women's stories of GBV can be acknowledged and listened to.

Towards Collective Conscientisation

The members of the Forum meet outside of SA Block, the community hall. The gates are shut to the group, and so we sit under a small tree in the open parking lot. I am told that in order to get access to the hall, the Forum needs to pay a fee and be associated with another community

organisation. The group is currently shut of the community space because of limited financial resources. Bathandwa proposes that the group play a roleplaying game. The aim of the game is to prepare the Thembelihle Women's Forum to encounter certain things within their mandate to empower women and girls. "It's an educational game. We choose a topic. Anyone can come up with a topic, and then we debate around that," Bathandwa introduces the 'game'. The group laughs and then goes silent. Bathandwa continues to speak. "Ah, okay, my topic goes as… Okay. Firstly, women encourage abuse. Especially in relationships. Let's think what we can do about. Let's say you find someone who is encouraging abuse in a relationship. How do you convince them to get out of there before she gets hurt? Before she maybe becomes disabled? Or something." The group is silent for a long while. "Let's just say you are advising someone who is in an abusive relationship. But she says, that [domestic violence] is a good thing because that's how he shows you love."

"I did that last year. I told someone. I said you must leave because one day we are going to find you dead. It's very difficult to tell someone. It must be her decision. It has to come from her that she wants to leave," Lindokhule offers a personal story. "I don't want to leave my partner. I don't want to," Bathandwa fully dramatises. "I don't want to! I love him." The group laughs but does not initially interact with her story. "I don't want to. That's how he's supposed to show me love. I don't want to," Bathandwa pauses for a moment and looks around the group. "Guys, you're supposed to advise me. Tell me he doesn't love me."

"Mmhmm!" Lindokhule exclaims.

"Convince me!" Bathandwa continues attempting to draw the group into the dramatisation.

"He's not good to you. He doesn't love you," Anna offers.

"Ah, she's jealous. Just remove her, she's not a good friend," Bathandwa retorts.

“So next time you have a problem you will come to me again?” Anna replies. “You are making our lives difficult! So, if you’re happy with that, stay with him!”

“I’m just playing but there are many people out there who are staying in these situations,” Bathandwa replies earnestly.

“There is nothing I can do with someone’s stubbornness,” Anna states.

During this dramatisation, she rehearses many tropes about why women stay with abusive partners. The group gets into a discussion about community and familial support available for women experiencing domestic violence. Bathandwa does not bring a story of her own but uses an externalising device. In doing this she creates a safe distance in which the group can engage with issues around GBV. This distance is perhaps necessary in that victims of GBV are often not believed or undermined. “Ah, to hell with it!” Bathandwa exclaims and pretends to flounce away from the group. “Bathandwa!” the group exclaims.

“I’m married, as you know. Um, you know what. I’m in a very abusive relationship. Even this December, he hit me. I went away for a week. After a while, I’m like maybe I took it too far and I go back. Then in two weeks, he starts to do it again. You tell your parents. They tell you how they grew up. All the cultural things. You can’t leave them. You can’t tell to [him] ‘to hell with that’. A home is not always a home,” Anna finds the courage to tell the Thembelihle Women’s Forum members about the domestic violence she endures at home. This comes after Anna told the group that her husband is “wonderful” (seen in the previous analysis section). During the dramatisation process, Anna can find a space to tell her story.

“There will always be that one person who will stand with you,” Bathandwa says, insisting that at least one member of a person’s family would be able to offer a safe space. Anna sighs.

“We don’t have the same families and the same cultures too,” Anna retorts. “I can’t go home.” “How about friends?” Bathandwa interjects.“Bathandwa! Not even one day! You are not working. You’re bruised and all that. You’re messed up. You can’t stay with a friend actually. And you don’t need a friend, you need a family,” Anna objects. The group erupts in discussion. “Friends need you when things are right, not when things are wrong,” Peemuk states emphatically. Bathandwa, in a position of an agitator, states, “There’s always one person in your family. It could be your uncle your aunt.”

“They have partners, too, who will not understand,” Anna remains adamant in addressing the complexities and difficulties of seeking help from others.

“You know what happens. You are welcome there the first day. Maybe the first [few] days. But as time goes by…” Peemuk starts to address the material complexities of staying with others. Anna adds, “They will say you left your husband. You come here and stress us. Go back to your house. How long are you going to suffer like this?”

“You can’t sort your things-” Peemuk starts and then is cut off.

“It’s not easy!” Anna emphasises.

“You can stay there a month-” Bathandwa offers a solution that is cut off. She takes on a different position from when she was roleplaying.

“A month?!” Peemuk exclaims. “Even 2 days…”

“They’ll complain about soap. About this, about this, about this. And you’re not even ready to start anything,” Anna continues. “The mielie meal is finished,” Peemuk continues the narrative.

“You have to stand up and look for a job and don’t be choosey,” Bathandwa states, adding a different element to the debate.

“And listen, you can’t find a job within one day. You can spend three years without working,” Anna retorts. The conversation is taken up by the group. Some suggest that a woman in a

situation of domestic violence could stay with a friend. This is ridiculed by the group. “What should we talk about?” Bathandwa brings the conversation to a close.

The Thembelihle Women’s Forum is a relational space for formulating and enacting collective resistance that is aimed at promoting the psychological, social, and physical well-being of the community at large (see Malherbe, 2018; Montero, 2007). Through the act of roleplaying, Bathandwa invites the group into a process of collective development which seeks to strengthen critical consciousness and catalyse communal healing. Indeed, the Forum is a relational space in which women can demonstrate radical praxes in order to break from exploitative structures of power that continue to intrude upon the lived realities of many marginalised women (Moane, 2003; Montero, 2007). Bathandwa offers a social space where resistance can be co-created and grappled with. The idea of roleplaying acts to prepare the members of the Forum to engage with the difficult process of dealing with GBV. The group’s initial silence demonstrates a reluctance to participate in the game proposed by Bathandwa.

In response to Bathandwa’s roleplaying, Lindokhule raises the idea of agency (“It’s very difficult to tell someone. It must be her decision. It has to come from her that she wants to leave”). Here, Lindokhule demonstrates that it is imperative to think about linking broader structures of oppression with psychological patterns, such as feelings of inferiority or helplessness, that may make it difficult for a person to leave an abusive relationship (Moane, 2003). Bathandwa, in response, dramatises the refusal to leave an abusive partner. The group engages with the story in various ways, including: an initial refusal to engage, tentative offering short answers, offering solutions, posing challenges, and engaging with social and material realities that limit the movement of women out of physically abusive spaces. The dramatisation

acts as a collaborative conscientising process that engages with the various material, social and psychological factors that underpin oppression.

The conversation opens up room for Anna to tell the other participants about her experience with her abusive husband. What gets dramatised by Bathandwa, then, gets rooted in a concrete experience. The externalising nature of the dramatisation is replaced with a closer encounter with GBV. However, the group does not fully engage with what Anna brings to the conversation and continues to interact with the dramatisation. Although the group cannot engage with Anna immediately when she first discloses that her husband is abusive, as reflected in the above extract, over the next months, the participants in the Thembelihle Women's Forum begin to make contact with Anna in meaningful ways. In the early months of 2019, Anna telephones me to tell me that her husband has abused her again. She wished to discuss the various options she has to leave him. I make a time to meet up with her but do not make contact with any of the other Thembelihle Women's Forum members. When I arrive at her house, Maseiso is already there. Although she does not offer any words, she sits quietly while Anna speaks about her experience and explores the various options that she has to leave. "I want to go get the protection order, but I don't want him to go to jail. I just want him to stop hitting me." Later, at the end of 2019, while I am busy writing up this study, Anna calls the police when her husband physically abuses her. She decides to stay with one of the members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum and the group goes to check on her later in the week. Lungile posts on the WhatsApp group: "Good day, anyone who's around can we g c Anna today". Here, it is possible to see how resistance is enacted within social and material relationships in a variety of ways – including offering material support, showing up, witnessing, and checking in through telephonic contact (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016).

Summary of Findings

The first theme, *(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity*, centres Maseiso's story about being illiterate as well as her shame and persistence. The theme also captures a demonstration of solidarity by Anna. Central to Maseiso's story is the affect of shame, which functions politically (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b, 2000; Bartlett, 2007). Shame, here, operates to entrench social inequality by depoliticising social inequality and individualising responsibility for structural oppression. Shame is distributed horizontally across communities. Indeed the shaming of other communities represents a struggle for power, resources, and recognition (Vigneswaran et al., 2017). Literacy is, in this story a scarce resource, and is, indeed, one of many possible social resources. Histories of oppression result in interpersonal battles over different types of capital – symbolic, social, and economic – so that people who experience marginalisation may gain social status (Barlett, 2007). This story present one example of how racist violence – embedded in histories and institutions – are psychically internalised and (re)produced within social relations (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). These violences may be actual or anticipated. However, this story also demonstrates how this psychic internalisation may be undercut by acts of solidarity that reduce shame through collective engagement.

In the second theme, *Finding Space to Speak*, I explore the complexities inherent in engaging with GBV. This theme follows a conversation on GBV and talks to the complex and multiple ways in which women do everyday resistance within the relational space provided by the Forum. The group process allowed for a movement towards de-ideologising reality (Burton & Kagan, 2005; Montero, 2007), where the participants interrogated the multiple aspects of the lived experience of GBV. The group also takes collective responsibility for working through experiences brought into the group space, linking individual and collective experiences, and working towards creating generative futures. Some of the participants engage in an affective

reimagining of relational space where women can tell their stories (to other women) and foster the potential for broader social engagement within the community. Using the lens of "tired", the participants highlight the lack of broader social transformation when speaking out about GBV. Drawing on the affect of tired, the participants rethink and reimagine how women can come together to tell their stories.

The third theme, *Towards Collective Conscientisation*, speaks to how the Thembelihle Women's Forum is a platform that allows the participants to work towards conscientisation of individual and collective struggle and resistance. This theme demonstrates the non-linear, messy, and complex ways in which the participants grapple with the various social, psychological, and material barriers which fix GBV into place.

Conclusion

There is a process of repairing social ruptures wrought by colonialism and apartheid that happens in small and often contradictory moments. These moments, although they do not affect larger systemic transformation, act to restore the fabric of the social lives of many of the members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. In the above analysis, the Thembelihle Women's Forum emerges as an invented site of resistance. The participants' stories act to demonstrate social ruptures and how they are repaired within the relational space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum.

Each of the above themes situate the Thembelihle Women's Forum as an invented space for resistance. The Thembelihle Women's Forum works together to create a collective 'we', rendered through multiple encounters, which brings in and interrogates histories, traumas, hopes and ordinariness. This collective, through the invented space of the Thembelihle

Women's Forum, acts to address historical trauma through actions of empathy, showing up, listening, solidarity, refusing to be silent, choosing to remain silent, withdrawal and refusal.

The participants tell narratives about illiteracy and GBV. The findings demonstrate that these narratives are disrupted, cannot be told and are frightening to tell. Mistrust moves between bodies to provide a safe distance between selves and the community within a broader context marked by violence. Mistrust furthermore creates a misalignment between the members of the Women's Forum. Mistrust is an affect held by the entire Forum (and arguably also located in broader South Africa) and is an important survival mechanism that can protect subjects from further hurt. The participants feel shame, which functions to isolate and separate them from the other Forum members.

Ordinary life brings the women into contact with direct and systematic violence in their daily lives, such as GBV, worries around food and housing, lack of electricity, and unemployment. The perpetual state of structural violence results in a repeated site of trauma in their daily lives (Moleba, 2016). Structural violence, such as poverty and inequality, as well as direct violence renders the community a violent space. Therefore, the affect of mistrust acts as an important barrier between community members and their violent surroundings. Linked to mistrust, shame is a burden that is allocated to individual bodies, although circulated throughout the whole community (see Barlett, 2007; Shefer & Munt, 2019). Shame is a tool the system uses to discipline certain bodies. Shame and mistrust are healed through sustained showing up and acts of solidarity.

Connection, through telling stories and showing up for one another, acts as a remedy to the mistrust caused by social fault lines which, themselves, shot through with violence. The

movement towards repairing these social ruptures oftentimes requires the women to occupy the positions of both victim and perpetrator of patriarchy, as seen through the adoption and resistance of patriarchal scripts in response to one another (Meth, 2010). Furthermore, some of these stories cannot be immediately heard by the group (such as Anna's story of her husband physically abusing her). However, continued engagements with Anna over a prolonged period opens up social space for her to be heard by the other members of the Thembelihle Women's Forum. This study demonstrates that resistance is enacted within social and material relationships (Bregazzi & Jackson, 2016).

Although the Thembelihle Women's Forum seeks to address issues affecting women, the Forum members also, in some instances, unwittingly collude with racist and patriarchal systems. These findings are embedded within broader research that demonstrates that everyday resistance, especially of marginalised women, cannot be romanticised (see Abu-Lughod, 1990; Bayat, 1997, 2000; Hart, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Meth 2010; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Everyday resistance can be contradictory while simultaneously resisting and renewing social scripts which surround oppression and violence. Acts of resistance can be both liberatory and subordinating, and it is imperative to examine the contradictions inherent to these acts (Meth, 2010). As such, we need to engage with gender and resistance in ways that do not romanticise, demonise, or fixate on suffering (Hart, 1991; Meth, 2010). To do so would lose sight of the larger configurations of political, social and economic forces that shape the everyday realities and social relations of the women who occupy increasingly precarious and oppressive realities (Hart, 1991). Those who inhabit the most marginalised positions in societies should not have to bear the responsibility of being moral heroes. Instead, they need to be rendered complicated, ambiguous, and human.

The Thembelihle Women's Forum, as an invented space, becomes a relational space which does the work stipulated by liberation psychology, that is, of catalysing and nurturing everyday resistance as an affective, cognitive, relational and spatially bound process of raising critical consciousness, and problematising and denaturalising the everyday reality of women living on the margins.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (1989). The romance of resistance: Tracing transformation of power through Bedouin women. *American Ethnologist, 17*(1), 41-53.

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied Others in post-coloniality*. London, England: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. (2004a). Affective economies. *Social Text, 79*(22), 117-139.

Ahmed, S. (2004b). Collective feelings: Or, the impressions left by others. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *21*(2), 25-42.

Ahmed, S. (2014). *Willful subjects.* London, UK: Duke University Press.

Albertyn, C. (2007). Substantive equality and transformation in South Africa. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, *23*(2), 253-276.

Alexander, M. J. (2005). *Pedagogies of crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham, UK: Duke University Press.

Anderson, J. M. (2004). Lessons from a postcolonial-feminist perspective: Suffering and a path to healing. *Nursing Inquiry, 11*(4), 238–246.

Anthias, F., & Yuval-Davis, N. (2001 [1992]). *Racialized boundaries race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle*. London, UK: Routledge.

Ay, D., & Miraftab, F. (2016). Invented spaces of activism: Gezi Park and performative practices of citizenship. In *The palgrave handbook of international development* (pp. 555-574). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bartlett, L. (2007). Literacy, speech and shame: the cultural politics of literacy and language in Brazil. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 20(5), 547-563.

Bayat, A. (1997). Cairo's Poor: Dilemmas of survival and solidarity. *Middle East Report, Winter*, 1-6.

Bayat, A. (2000). From ‘dangerous classes’ to ‘quiet rebels’: Politics of the urban subaltern in the Global South. *International Solidarity, 15*(3), 533-557.

Biko, S. (1978). *I Write What I Like.* Johannesburg: PanMacmillan.

Bregazzi, H., & Jackson, M. (2018). Agonism, critical political geography, and the new geographies of peace. *Progress in Human Geography*, *42*(1), 72-91.

Bulhan, H. A. (1985). Black Americans and psychopathology: An overview of research and theory. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, *22*(2S), 370.

Burton, M., & Kagan, C. (2005). Liberation social psychology: Learning from Latin America. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *15*(1), 63-78.

Cornell, J., Seedat, M., Malherbe, N., & Suffla, S. (2020). Splintered politics of memory and community resistance. *Journal of Community Psychology, 0*(0), 1-19.

Das, V. (2003). Trauma and testimony: Implications for political community. *Anthropological Theory*, *3*(3), 293-307.

Dogra, N. 2012. *Representations of Global Poverty: Aid, Development and International NGOs*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1994[1903]). *The souls of black folk.* London, UK: Yale University Press.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks.* London, UK: Pluto Press.

Friere, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY, USA: Herder & Herder.

Hammond, J.L. (2013) The significance of space in Occupy Wall Street. *Interface*, *5*(2), 499-524.

Hart, G. (1991). Engendering everyday resistance: Gender, patronage and production politics in rural Malaysia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *19*(1), 93-121.

Holmes, A. (2015). That which cannot be shared: On the politics of shame. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, *29*(3), 415-423.

Holmes, M. (2008). *Gender and everyday life.* London, UK: Routledge.

Kent, L. (2016). Sounds of silence: Everyday strategies of social repair in Timor-Leste. *Australian Feminist Law Journal, 42*(1), 31-50.

Lilja, M. (2008). *Power, resistance and women politicians in Cambodia: Discourses of emancipation* (No. 108). Copenhagen, Denmark: Nias Press.

Lugones, M. (2008). The coloniality of gender. *Worlds and knowledge otherwise, spring*, 1-17.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742-759.

Johannesburg South Community in collaboration with the University of South Africa. (2019). *Johannesburg South Community-Based Organisation Network: Masibambisane sivuse ithemba.* Johannesburg, South Africa: University of South Africa.

Jung Park, Y., Fedler, J., & Dangor, Z. (eds). (2000). *Reclaiming women's spaces: New perspectives on violence against women and sheltering in South Africa.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2017). Resistance and transformation in postcolonial contexts. In C. Howarth & E, Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics* (pp. 116-130). London, UK: Routledge.

Malherbe, N. (2018). Expanding conceptions of liberation: Holding Marxisms with liberation psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, *28*(3), 340-357.

Maluleke, R. (2019). *Inequality trends in South Africa: A multidimensional diagnostic of inequality* (Report No. 03-10-19). Pretoria, South Africa: Statistics South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-19/Report-03-10-192017.pdf

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizenship and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Manganyi, N. C. (1973). *Being Black in the world*. Johannesburg, SA: Sprocas.

Montero, M. (2007). The political psychology of liberation: From politics to ethics and back. *Political Psychology, 28*(5), 517-533.

McEwan, C. (2000). Engendering citizenship: Gendered spaces of democracy in South Africa. *Political Geography, 19*, 627–651.

Meth, P. (2010). Unsettling insurgency: Reflections on women's insurgent practices in South Africa. *Planning Theory and Practice, 29*(1), 89-108.

Miraftab, F. (2004). Invited and invented spaces of participation: Neoliberal citizenship and feminists' expanded notion of politics. *Wagadu, 1*, 1-7.

Miraftab, F. (2006) Feminist praxis, citizenship and informal politics: Reflections on South Africa's anti-eviction campaign. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 8*(2), 194–218.

Miraftab, F. (2009). Insurgent planning: Situating radical planning in the global south. *Planning Theory, 8*(1), 32-50.

Mitchell, D. (2015). People's park again: On the end and ends of public space. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 49*(3), 1-16.

Moane, G. (2003). Bridging the personal and the political: Practices for a liberation psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 31*(1-2), 91-101.

Moleba, E. (2016). Marikana Youth: (re)telling stories of ourselves and our place (Masters dissertation). Retrieved from http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/22238/Marikana%20Youth%20-%20(re)telling%20stories%20of%20ourselves%20and%20our%20place.pdf?sequence=1.

Oldfield, S. & Stokke, K. (2007) Polotical polemics and local practices of community organizing and neoliberal politics in South Africa. In H. Leitner, J. Peck & E.S.

Sheppard (Eds.), *Contesting neoliberalism: Urban frontiers* (pp. 139-156). New York, NY, USA: The Guilford Press.

O'Neill, A. (2021). Youth unemployment rate in South Africa in 2020. *Statista.* Retrieved from: https://www.statista.com/statistics/813010/youth-unemployment-rate-in-south-africa/

SAGov. (2020). *Women's Month.* South Africa Government. Retrieved: https://www.gov.za/womens-month.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts.* New Haven, CT: Yael University Press.

Shefer, T., & Munt, S. R. (2019). A feminist politics of shame: Shame and its contested possibilities. *Feminism and Psychology, 29*(2), 145-156.

Shortt, N. K., & Hammett, D. (2013). Housing and health in an informal settlement upgrade in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 28*(4), 615-627.

Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class and gender: Becoming respectable*. London, UK: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Soyini Madison, D. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London, UK: Sage.

Tuori, S. (2009). *The politics of multicultural encounters feminist postcolonial perspectives.* Turku, Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Van Manen, M. (1990). Beyond assumptions: Shifting the limits of action research. *Theory into Practice, 29*(3), 152-157.

Vigneswaran, D., Iveson, K., & Low, S. (2017). Problems, publicity, and public space: A resurgent debate. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 49*(3), 496-502.

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, V.A. (2013). “Everyday resistance”: Exploration of a concept and its theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine, 1*, 1-46.

Wetherell, M. (2012). *Affect and emotion: A new social science understanding*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Sage Publications.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.

STUDY IV

THE UNEVEN PATHWAYS OF "WALKING WITH" IN THE PROCESS OF DOING PSYCHOSOCIAL ACCOMPANIMENT

Abstract

The discipline of psychology, both globally and locally, is rooted within histories of colonialism. This enduring legacy shapes the way in which community psychologists conduct research within marginalised communities. Although psychology is embedded in histories of violence and domination, critical scholars have demonstrated that there are a number of methodological tools that can be used towards emancipatory ends. Psychosocial accompaniment is one of these methods. Using autoethnography, I undertake a critical analytic reading of psychosocial accompaniment as a method within the context of my research, while elucidating the complexities, tensions and trade-offs inherent to this method. I identify three themes: *Breaking Bread and Refusal to Consume*; *Encountering Historical Memories of Difference*; and *Stepping out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role*. Each of these themes focus on how psychosocial accompaniment opens up opportunities for power relations to be transformed. However, as demonstrated in these themes, power dynamics cannot be easily stepped away from, and I elaborate on some of the ways in which these tensions and complexities are embedded within the research process. This study deepens our understandings of the ebbs and flows of power, the dynamic and shifting imperatives of our research practice, and the need to theorise psychosocial accompaniment in practice.

Keywords: everyday resistance; research methodology; psychosocial accompaniment; autoethnography; power; community psychology

Introduction

As I come to the end of this PhD, I begin the write-up of this final study with brief reflections on the beginning of the process. In early 2016, I had just started a job at the Unisa ISHS as a junior researcher. I was fresh out of a very quiet internship and my Masters studies. At this stage, I knew very little about what I wanted to do with my research career. Perhaps I could say that I had a limited understanding of research beyond books, articles and a few interviews and focus-group discussions. I knew only one thing for certain - I did not want to work in market research. During the first few months, I was invited to think about doing my PhD with the Unisa ISHS. As I was allocated within a research project on protests, I was encouraged to undertake my PhD within that field. Protest - a field I knew very little about - was not my primary interest at the time. Feminist work was. However, I could not articulate what type of feminism nor what I really wanted to do.

"Well, what do you really want to do?" Professor Fatima Castillo asked me one morning. She was an academic associate visiting the Unisa ISHS at the time. I explained to her the pull between protests and feminism. Our conversation opened up the possibility for this PhD. Professor Castillo encouraged me to look at how women do protest. During ongoing and iterative dialogue with my supervisors, we ultimately refined the doctoral project to focus on everyday resistance. Five years later, I am writing about the process of this journey. I came into the research process knowing very little about research, about liberation psychology, structural violence, community-engaged work, ethnography, psychosocial accompaniment and myself. This process (along with a multitude of other experiences at the Unisa ISHS) has transformed the ways in which I think about and conduct research. In this study, I offer an analytic reading of the research process – specifically psychosocial accompaniment as method (see Watkins, 2015). This study is primarily methodological in focus. In it, I reflect on the

process of conducting my doctoral research. Using autoethnographic data, I analyse the tensions and complexities of doing psychosocial accompaniment as method with a group of marginalised women.

The Accompanying Literature

In this literature review, I begin with a critical reading of the definition and components of psychosocial accompaniment. I then examine select studies that have explicitly utilised psychosocial accompaniment as method.

Defining Psychosocial Accompaniment

Scholars have stated that psychology, both globally and locally, is rooted within histories of violence and dispossession, and has been shaped by the interests of white, colonial power (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Ratele et al., 2020). They further substantiate that embedded within some philosophical assumptions, psychology is a tool used in colonialism and apartheid that separated out groups in racial categories, and privileges white, middle-class, cis-gendered, heterosexual, able-bodied men (see Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Macleod, 2004; Nicolas & Cooper, 1990). This enduring legacy shapes the way in which community psychologists can conduct research within marginalised communities. Although psychology is embedded in histories of violence and domination, critical scholars have demonstrated that there are a number of tools that can be used towards emancipatory, Afric(n)-centred, and feminist scholarship (Kessi, 2011; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Ratele et al., 2020).

Embedded within a plethora of work on emancipatory research methods, liberation psychologists have identified psychosocial accompaniment as a method for achieving emancipatory goals (see Farmer, 2013; Goizueta, 2009; Watkins, 2015). Psychosocial

accompaniment is embedded within liberation theology in Latin-America and then shifted into liberation psychology (Watkins, 2015). According to Watkins (2015), psychosocial accompaniment follows on Fanon's (2004) calls for new models, schemas and modes of engaging that differ from those of the Global North and the dominant psychological methods used there, that is, new methods of practicing psychology that are contextually relevant and break from exploitative practices. Nickerson (2013) argues that this means refusing to export interventions and diagnoses that tend to be universalised and imposed from a position of cultural supremacy.

Dominant scholarship within the Global North has oft been a tool for what Freire (2000) names "cultural invasion", and Watkins (2015) argues has acted to subjugate and oppress people of the Global South. Cultural invasion can be defined as tactics and/or manipulations where invaders infiltrate the cultural context of another group and impose their own worldview, while denying the worldview of those who have been invaded (Freire, 2000). As a salve to cultural invasion, Fanon (2004) proposes approaches that involve "walking with" those on the margins for an extended and committed period of time (see Dennis & Moe-Lobeda, 1993; Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015). As critical scholars, then, Watkins (2015) states that we need to change the way in which we think about and model our research practice, creating different models from those we have inherited from the Global North. Scholarship has identified central practices for the researcher to engage in during the psychosocial accompaniment process, namely stepping down from the expert position (Watkins, 2015) through stepping out of safety (Goizueta, 2009), letting go of interventionist approaches (Dennis & Moe-Lobeda, 1993; Watkins, 2015) and being with marginalised communities (Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015); witnessing (Ratele et al., 2020; Sacipa, Vidales, & Galindo, 2007; Watkins, 2015); and locating individuals and

communities in broader social structures and histories (Dutta, Sonn & Lykes, 2016; Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015). This literature review will examine each of these concepts.

Stepping Down and Letting Go. Scholars have stated that the process of psychosocial accompaniment requires the researcher to "step down" from their professional, expert position (Watkins, 2015) and step out of safety to accompany others in processes of life, death, triumph, and struggle for survival (Goizueta, 2009). Watkins (2015) states that this is not only a physical stepping out of safety, but a symbolic, mental and emotional stepping out that opens up possibilities for authentic relationships to emerge. The literature has divided stepping down from the professional role into two processes: letting go (Dennis & Moe-Lobeda, 1993; Watkins, 2015) and being with (Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015).

According to the literature, letting go is defined as a process through which the researcher sheds the position of being an expert and relinquishes a rigid interventionist approach (Dennis & Moe-Lobeda, 1993; Watkins, 2015). Watkins (2015) states that this requires the researcher to undergo a process of psychic and social decolonisation, which she defines as the process of shedding the expert position and its associated professional aggrandisement. Watkins (2015) goes on to elucidate that in the process of letting go, the researcher must refrain from strategising on behalf of those accompanied and proposing solutions to those problems, but instead listen to emergent strategies proposed by those accompanied. However, less literature has clearly explicated the complexities and limitations embedded within processes of stepping down from an expert position.

Being With. The literature defines the process of being with as the creation of an invited, dialogical relationship that becomes continuous and close. It involves listening and witnessing,

being present, and offering specific and strategic support (Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015). The root of the word *acompañamiento* is compañero which means friend (Goizaueta, 1995). This is drawn from the Latin *ad cum panis*, which means to break bread with another. Farmer (2013) states that central tenets of psychosocial accompaniment are breaking bread and being present. Breaking bread is more than just the physical act of eating, but a sense of building connection and community and is imbued with a sense of hospitality and friendship. It can also be a symbolic act of reconciliation within the context of adversaries. Nunnery, Thomson and Martzki (2000) state that food has the possibility of forging connections among people who differ along lines of race, class, age, ethnicity, and gender. However, other research cautions that the 'breaking of bread' may not lead to transformed social relations and that conditions of violence may ensue soon after (see Schlabach, 2007). It is therefore imperative that scholars using psychosocial accompaniment as method examine the ways in which being with is not fully sustained after the process of psychosocial accompaniment has been completed.

In the process of being with, Watkins (2015) espouses that practitioners and researchers demonstrate their capacity and willingness to experience the joy and triumph as well as the pain and suffering of those we accompany through the development of an authentic relationship. The work of psychosocial accompaniment, according to Dutta et al. (2016), involves interrogating the work of healing the psychic and social wounds inflicted by oppression and domination, while locating and resisting the systems of violent oppression that produce social and emotional suffering (see also Watkins, 2015). That is, psychosocial accompaniment requires time and commitment, wherein the accompanied and accompanier are placed alongside one another (Watkins, 2015). Watkins (2015), however, cautions that the accompanier may enjoy privileges that the accompanied does not. That is, as she further espouses, divisions across race, class and gender may impact on the process of accompaniment

and the accompanier must be attendant to these. Being attendant to these divisions, however, does not mitigate them nor offer the accompanier an easy way out through only confessing their social position.

Witnessing. Another central process to psychosocial accompaniment is that of witnessing (see Ratele et al., 2020; Sacipa et al., 2007). Scholars argue that witnessing becomes a crucial antidote to the seeing of historical and current trauma that is repressed and/or denied by larger society (Ratele et al., 2020; Watkins, 2015). They position witnessing as not voyeuristic, passive consumptive watching of the lives of those who are suffering. Instead, they state that witnessing is a process aimed towards developing empathetic solidarity which is, itself, a result of the researchers' own transformed subjectivity (Ratele et al., 2020; Watkins, 2015). Furthermore, they aver that witnessing also demonstrates refusal on the part of participants to account for only their pain, but also for the multiplicity and complexity of being, including joy and love. However, the concept of witnessing has been critiqued. Uncritical witnessing can signify a passive, voyeuristic consumption of the lives of people who experience marginalisation who are suffering (Ratele et al., 2020). It is therefore imperative to guard against doing witnessing in a way that exploits the condition of marginalised communities for the benefit of privileged communities.

Explicating Violent Systems. Finally, the literature on psychosocial accompaniment suggests that a considerable shortcoming of mainstream research is that it cites issues embedded within violent social systems without clearly explicating these systems and holding them to account (Dutta et al., 2016). For example, conditions of poverty are individualised and systems that reinforce inequality are not spoken about. Farmer (2013) states that the erasure of history and structures of violence is central to the (re)production of structural violence. Watkins (2015)

espouses that psychological practice must take an interdependent understanding of community and individual well-being, rather than a pathologising, individualistic understanding of mental well-being. Ahmed (2014) states that it is also, however, important to not solely focus on a structural analysis, but an analysis that brings in affective significance of the actual lived experience of these systems of violence (see also Watkins, 2015). According to Watkins (2015), the researcher's or practitioner's conscientisation of these broader systems of violence are, then, the cornerstone of the practice of psychosocial accompaniment.

Psychosocial Accompaniment in Practice

Psychosocial accompaniment has been foregrounded as a methodological tool in research on forced displacement (Guerra, 2014; Sacipa, Vidales, Galindo, & Tovar, 2007); political violence (Rodríguez, & Guerra, 2011); victims of armed conflict (Villa Gómez et al., 2016); unaccompanied youth (Kindel, 2016); immigrant communities (Villarreal Sosa, Diaz, & Hernandez, 2019); victims of sexual violence (Montero & Sonn, 2009; Patterson-Markowitz & Alexandra, 2018); forensics in the context of conflict (Hofmeister, & Navarro, 2017); and peacebuilding (Sacipa-Rodriguez, & Montero, 2014). These studies have the following findings in common: psychosocial accompaniment offers individual and collective empowerment, emotional healing and reduction in mistrust, the repair of broader community structures, and promotes self-esteem and self-awareness. These studies also emphasise mutual collaboration and undertaking research projects with communities as opposed to on communities. Some of these studies are discussed in more detail below.

Sacipa et al. (2007) state that in their research with people who have experiences of forced displacement, that psychosocial accompaniment offers participants a "loving reception", dignity and the creation of relational spaces for developing trust and emotional expression.

They further argue that psychosocial accompaniment offers participants a relational space in which to overcome distrust and transition from suffering to hope. Villarreal Sosa et al. (2019) state that accompaniment can be examined at three different domains: physical, spiritual and emotional. They reported that participants felt respected, empowered, less stressed and less isolated. Similar findings from Villa Gómez et al. (2016) indicate that psychosocial accompaniment can be an important remedy for the "rehabilitation" of people in armed conflict. That is, they state that psychosocial accompaniment is an important tool for individual and collective empowerment, emotional healing, the reconstruction of everyday life and repairing social fabric. They state that it is imperative for these projects to be initiated with the community as opposed to being implemented from above.

Sacipa-Rodriguez and Montero (2014) found that psychosocial accompaniment is an important tool for the furtherment of peace in communities characterised by conflict and war. Psychosocial accompaniment was lauded by them as a tool for promoting self-esteem, empowerment, self-awareness, mutual collaboration and overcoming mistrust. The authors cautioned, however, that fear, especially in contexts of continuing violence, is not easily undone within processes of psychosocial accompaniment. Kindel (2016) also emphasises, in her thesis on unaccompanied youth, that psychosocial accompaniment offers a relational space for the cultivation of self-awareness and self-assurance. Hofmeister and Navarro (2017), whose work is based on two decades of forensic and psychosocial work, states that linking forensic work with psychosocial fields is best practice. This process may assist in the healing process after disappearances and improve the forensic investigation process itself. While Patterson-Markowitz and Alexandra (2018) also acknowledge the social possibilities embedded within psychosocial accompaniment, they shift the focus onto the transformation of subjectivities for

both the accompanier and the accompanied, highlighting that emotionality and affect circulate between them and are leveraged to create new social realities.

Scholars argue that the construction of participatory methodologies, such as psychosocial accompaniment, as a totalising salve or socio-political solution can be problematic (see Bühler, 2002; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Studies on psychosocial accompaniment have primarily focused on the emancipatory benefits of the work. Far fewer studies have offered a fine-grained analysis of psychosocial accompaniment that focuses on its complexity, messiness and incompleteness.

The Present Study

Theoretical Coordinates

In examining the process of doing ethnographic research, I consider and locate psychosocial accompaniment through my broader theoretical framework (liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies). This study then orients to a critical examination of ethnographic work and psychosocial accompaniment, offering an *in-situ* examination of the process in accordance with tenets from each of the conceptual coordinates. Furthermore, psychosocial accompaniment as a methodological tool of liberation psychology disrupts hegemonic ways of doing psychology through the refusal to pathologise or take a strictly interventionist approach (Watkins, 2015). Drawing on the above conceptual coordinates, this study examines the possibilities for disrupting mainstream psychological practice as well as the limitations thereof. Attending to liberation psychology's commitment to taking a political stance that aligns with marginalised communities (Martín-Baró, 1994), this study draws on the conceptual nodes of psychosocial accompaniment that require walking with, shedding the expert role, letting go, witnessing and opening up close and continuous dialogue (Watkins,

2015). Liberation psychology centres research practice that is a contextually grounded, action-orientated systematic process that improves the psycho-social-material realities of marginalised populations (Malherbe, 2018). This study assumes a critical stance on the ways in which it is possible to improve these realities through research practice. Drawing on notion of affective economies (e.g., Ahmed, 2000a,b, 2004, 2014; Berg et al., 2015; Canham, 2018; Dutta et al., 2016), this study pays attention to the ways in which affect functions between myself and the participants during the process of psychosocial accompaniment. Affect, here, is not located within the individual but is something that circulates between subjectivities (Ahmed, 2000a,b).

Aims and Objectives

In this study, I undertake an analytic reading of psychosocial accompaniment as method. Drawing on the indicated theoretical coordinates and literature, the study is guided by the following questions:

1. How is psychosocial accompaniment enacted in this study?
2. How are power dynamics resisted and (re)produced in the research space between the research participants and me?
3. How does affect circulate between the research participants and me?

Autoethnography as Data Collection and Data Analysis

In this study, I take an autoethnographic approach, which is a category of research and writing that connects the personal to the social, and demonstrates multiple layers of consciousness (Bell, Canham, Dutta, & Fernández, 2019; Ellis & Bocher, 2000). Autoethnography is a "broad orientation towards scholarship" rather than a method that has a specific set of procedures (Gingrich-Philbrook, 2005, p. 298), which centres the politics of knowledge and experience

(Adams & Holman Jones, 2011). This process states that the self becomes an instrument for understanding the world (Orther, 1995). Resultantly, autoethnographic research is both a process and a product. It goes beyond merely recounting experiences and examines these experiences analytically (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011), and also seeks to go between inner experience and broader cultural, societal and political axes of being (Allen & Piercy, 2005). Particularly, it enacts "a way of seeing and being [that] challenges, contests or endorses the official, hegemonic ways of seeing and representing the other" (Denzin, 2006, p. 422). Given the significance of analytic reflexivity to this overall research study, I concluded that autoethnography would be an appropriate tool to examine the process of conducting the research.

Autoethnographic texts, according to Spry (2001, p. 708), "express more fully the interactional textures occurring between self, other, and contexts". Autoethnography therefore recognises the refractions and reflections of multiple selves in context and unsettles "the authorial "I" to an existential "we"" (Spry, 2001, p. 711). In the present study, I situate myself - a socio-politically inscribed body - as a departing site of meaning-making from which I read the social world (see Alexander, 2000; Langellier, 1999; Soyini Madison, 1993; Park-Fuller, 2000; Spry, 2001). Embedded in this process is the refusal to remain detached (Bell et al., 2019).

In this study, I draw on the five key features of analytic autoethnography, which include "(1) complete member researcher (CMR) status, (2) analytic reflexivity, (3) narrative visibility of the researcher's self, (4) dialogue with informants beyond the self, and (5) commitment to theoretical analysis" (Anderson, 2006, p. 378). The first stage, CMR, posits that the researcher is a complete member of the social world in which the research is being undertaken. I am also a subject - a white middle class women - located in a particular way within South African

society. I am furthermore embedded within Thembelihle as a researcher from Unisa – a university that has had an ongoing relationship with the community over the last three decades.

The second consideration is analytic reflexivity. While much research is considered "outside" of the researcher, analytic reflexivity within autoethnography frames the accounting of the data within the frame of self (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 2003). This interrogation of self occurs within broader socio-political contexts so that the writing up of research extends beyond navel-gazing. The data collection process involved reflective pieces written in relation to my interactions with the participants undertaken through the course of the composite study in order to locate my analysis within the process of doing this research. These research notes were collected throughout my data collection process. The data also included retrospective and selectively written notes. The write-up process took a layered approach to include my experiences conducting the research; analytic reflexivity; extracts from the participants; the literature; and the conceptual framework.

The third key feature, the narrative visibility, illuminates the researcher's self. This enhancing of the researchers' visibility allows their work to be scrutinised. A critique of ethnography has been that the researcher has largely been invisible and omnipresent. Throughout the write-up process I reflected upon my presence, thoughts, emotions and socio-political position in relation to the participants. This was written into the analysis. The fourth key feature, dialogue with informants beyond the self, requires engaging with others in the field. Throughout the research process I engaged with my supervisors and peers. This is to extend my gaze outward to the process of engaging in ethnographic work. Finally, commitment to theoretical analysis, states that it is not enough to merely present personal experience. There must be a commitment to an analytic agenda.

Negotiating the Complexities of Psychosocial Accompaniment

My analysis is arranged around three thematic foci. The first theme, *Breaking Bread and Refusal to Consume,* speaks to the process of being present within psychosocial accompaniment. Specifically, this theme focuses on the process and complexities of being with as defined by psychosocial accompaniment. The second theme, *Encountering Historical Memories of Difference*, focuses on the ways in which differences along the lines of race, class and gender play out in the research process. The third theme, *Stepping Out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role*, centres on the practicalities and complexities of shedding the expert role as required by psychosocial accompaniment.

Breaking Bread and Refusal to Consume

"I've got juice from Zimbabwe. You want to taste?" Peemuk asks me. It is my second visit to her home. Peemuk rents a small zinc structure. The land surrounding her home is empty, and Peemuk tells me that her lessor wishes to build more structures to rent out.

"That would be really nice. I would be interested to taste," I replied.

"I'll let you taste both of them, neh, and then you tell me which one, which one is nice. Then some other time I will send someone to bring you a 2l, for you, for yourself," Peemuk tells me as she pulls out two bottles of *Mazoe*[15], one red and the other orange.

"You must just let me know how much it is and then I can give you the money," I reply, while she finds a glass.

"This one is the raspberry one," she selects the red bottle, and pours in some concentrated juice and tops it up with some water.

[15] *Mazoe* is a popular drink in Zimbabwe. It is a concentrated drink that needs to be mixed with water.

“Mmm, I like raspberry,” I say while watching her pour the drink. As she passes the drink to me, she says: “Tell me how it is. Maybe if it’s too sweet.”

“It’s perfect,” I reply, after taking a sip.

“I put too much. I dunno, if I put too much, it’s going to be full of juice. This one is the orange one. My sister bought it for me when she was coming. It’s orange- orange crush. It’s from Zimbabwe.”

“Which one is your favourite?” I ask.

“The raspberry,” she responds.

“I think mine will also be,” I confer then take another sip.

“The orange one, sometimes the tongue is like, it gets some thrush or something - it gets orange,” she tells me. She says people prefer the orange flavour because it lasts longer – it is very sweet.

We speak about what she sells other than the peanuts. She sells the drinks and other produce from Zimbabwe. At the time of this conversation, she did not have capital to get new stock. A bottle of *Mazoe* costs $2.90 for the 2l. She then needs to declare at the border and bring it into South Africa. She has to sell it for R70 to make a profit. “You must pour yourself the orange one,” she tells me while she attends to her new-born son. “Are you sure?” I ask, concerned about taking too much. “I am pretty sure. You are welcome here. Don’t worry.”

As described in the literature review, being with and breaking bread are central to the process of psychosocial accompaniment (Farmer, 2013; Watkins, 2015). I have selected a literal story (as a physical act of consuming) to illustrate the process of being with and the complexities embedded therein. This process is embedded within the creation of community, connection,

reconciliation and relationality across lines of difference (Nunnery et al., 2000). This story also demonstrates inherent complexities, continued negotiations and the possibility that these transformations may not be fully transformed (Schlabach, 2007).

This invites me to reflect on how the breaking of bread (both symbolically and physically) is done within the context of the research space. Food (and in the above story, drink) has the possibility of welcoming people into new physical and social spaces and developing new communities. There is an ordinariness embedded in the interactions between myself and the participants that differs from more regimented, once or twice off data collection processes, such as (semi-)structured interviews, that I have conducted. It is in this ordinary action that the potential for the development of an authentic relationship emerges. Peemuk welcomes me through the act of sharing drink from her home country. There is a physicality in her invitation into the relational space. It is important that not all my conversations were driven by an agenda, or sensitive topics. People who experience marginalisation are often required to account for their pain. Instead, in these moments of breaking bread we speak about moments of joy, innovation and ordinary life. This willingness to transgress boundaries of race and class is a form of everyday resistance.

Although authentic relationships have emerged to differing extents between the participants and myself, I am also encouraged to think of the ways in which this relationship is hampered and (re)produced through structures of power and privilege. There are embedded power dynamics between researchers and participants. The majority of research can be seen as exploitative as the researcher's interests and purposes are more directly served than those of the participants (Kvale, 2006; Pillow, 2003). This is further complicated by divisions across race and class. I demonstrate in the above story a hesitancy to consume a second glass of juice

when I ask Peemuk if she is sure. I also refuse to let her give me a bottle of *Mazoe* without paying for it, through assuring her I will pay for what she brings. Later in our interactions, she brings me two bottles. I pay for both.

This hesitancy comes from a position of not wanting to take too much from the participants within the context of understanding (and not necessarily knowing what to do with) the exploitative nature of research. I feel discomfort and guilt about the process of taking – perhaps linked to both the data collection process and the physical consuming of material goods compounded in context of material deprivation. The hesitancy and guilt are spectacles of my unwitting and clumsy movement towards critical consciousness at both a cognitive and an emotional level (Burton & Kagan, 2005; Montero, 2007). Both of these acts (the hesitancy to take a second glass of cooldrink and the assurance to pay) serve to keep me at a distance – as an outsider and an expert looking in. In hesitating to take the food and drink, I also position the participants as not being able to make an agentic decision about their own ability to afford to give to me. The ways in which bodies come together encompass affective readings that differentiate between bodies (Ahmed, 2005). Relations of power cannot simply be wished away by "good will" (Ahmed, 2005). The respective bodies belonging to Peemuk and I are differentiated by guilt and hesitancy to step fully into the relational space. Despite my intentions to not take too much, my failure to trust Peemuk's capacity to make her own decisions in this moment throws to light a tension. Perhaps my hesitancy and guilt can be examined as a signal that demarcates the broader societal separation of subjectivities based on gender, race and class. Paying attention to affective encounters may help researchers to think about what is happening in the interaction. I felt often an uncertainty about how to enact being with in the process of psychosocial accompaniment. As such, there have been many ebbs and flows of relationality during the data collection process. At times, there was a comfortable

ordinariness about my interactions with the participants. At other times, there was certainly a hesitancy and refusal to engage.

Affect is not rooted in an individual body. There is an exchange between Peemuk and I (Ahmed, 2005). Peemuk resists my hesitancy in two ways. She assures me that I am welcome in the relational space and requests that I pour the drink myself, and she ignores my assurance that I will pay her for the juice that she brings me. In a similar instance, Maseiso offered me an ice-cream cone that she usually sells for R2,00. In my awareness that this is the only income she is generating I want to refuse the offer or pay for it. Maseiso reprimands me: "Why can I take from you, and you not from me?" Here, Maseiso and Peemuk undercut my position as an expert, outsider and attempt to reposition me as an equal through demonstrating reciprocity and taking up the position of the host. The process of "stepping down" and breaking bread is embedded within negotiations around lines of power and privilege. This is not a once-off process, but a continual one that is embedded within relations. The development of authentic relationships is not only about focusing on agreement and pleasant interactions. It also involved managing disappointment, frustration, refusal, distraction and anger that is directed both towards me and other participants. Moments of conflict and anger directed at me were particularly difficult to manage.

These stories of breaking bread are juxtaposed with refusal and resistance of the participants. The third study in my PhD was originally intended to utilise Photovoice[16] methodology. Despite the emancipatory intentions of the methodology and seemingly enthusiastic initial uptake of the proposal, the majority of the participants resisted taking part in the Photovoice

[16] Photovoice is a participatory action research approach (PAR). This approach, according to Wang (1999), has three goals: recording and reflecting on personal and community issues and strengths; fostering critical dialogue; and engagement with policymakers.

component of the research. This was not done as an outright refusal. Participants failed to return their cameras, or they returned the cameras with very few images. The lack of outright refusal could possibly be explained by the inherent power dynamics between researchers and participants. When I invited participants into dialogue about what was going on for them, they, once again, did not outright refuse participation. Instead, they said that they had nothing to take photographs of or that Thembelihle was boring. One participant stated that she needed to find her camera as she had misplaced it. The participants were also connected to Unisa for a variety of different community-engaged projects and, for some, their access to the university space was initially mediated through my doctoral research. Refusal to participate may have been perceived to have high stakes and result in losing access to Unisa. One of my participants told me that she did not want to "take from me" and therefore did not wish to use the disposable camera. I found this ironic because throughout the PhD process I have felt discomfort about taking from the participants. Dealing with refusal to partake in the Photovoice study caused me anxiety around the completion of my dissertation. Other ways in which the participants resisted the research process was through asking me to connect them to a counselling service and then refusing to go to the appointment. Tuck and Yang (2014) state that refusals in the research process are generative as they put to the direction of power. Furthermore, they argue that refusals set limits for what is known, how it is known, and who it known by. As such, refusals by participants and the researcher respecting these refusals allows for the sovereignty of knowledge of indigenous people to be maintained (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

The above stories illuminate some of the complexities of being with – this process in imbued with negotiations, hesitations, connections, disconnections, and refusals. Power dynamics cannot be wished away with good intentions (Ahmed, 2005) and are embodied and embedded within the materiality of the everyday. The way in which affect circulates between participants

and researcher may provide important indicators for how power structures play out within ordinary interactions.

Encountering Historical Memories of Difference

Just off the main road that runs through Lenasia, an area historically set aside by the apartheid state as an 'Indian' residential area, is the Lenasia SAPS station. I am the only white person in the vicinity as I step out of the Unisa branded car in early September 2018 with Lindokhule Mini. Weeks earlier, Lindokhule was attacked by her now ex-boyfriend. She was stabbed with a broken bottle in her upper arm. After a morning spent at the Lenasia Magistrates Court, she finally received her interim protection order and had to return to the police so that they could accompany her to get the perpetrator to sign the order form. Lindokhule asks and I agree to step out of official community engaged work to accompany her to the court and police station to obtain the interim court order.

The premises of the Lenasia SAPS station are surrounded by a chain link fence, secured by rusted poles. The entrance, a face brick guardhouse, has a large sign "S.A.P.S LENASIA WELCOMES YOU, sponsored by Classic Panelbeaters". Just to the left after entering is a container, where many people queue for document certification. Lindokhule and I walk past the container towards a large red face brick building. While the queue for documentation certification is long, there are few people inside the police station and only two or three police officers attending to their cases. The walls are mostly bare, and the paint has yellowed with age. Metal chairs line the walls.

Lindokhule and I do not linger in the reception area and make our way down a narrow passageway to the detective offices, past the only public bathroom. It is out of order. We are

told that only the detective who is on her case can serve the interim court order, so they have to wait 20 minutes until he is back at the station. It ends up being closer to 40 minutes. Lindokhule is asked by the officer who told her to wait for the detective on her case: "Are you living with the *umlungu*?" A reference to me.

Eventually, when the detective arrives, Lindokhule accompanies him to his office. I wait in the reception area. At some point a police officer asks me if I had everything I need. A few minutes later a different officer asks me a similar question. I am aware this is a courtesy not extended to the other occupants in the waiting area. Later, a black male officer walks into the building and says to me: "You are the only decent person here."

Although apartheid legislatively ended in 1994, I remain a body out of place in an area historically demarcated for 'black' bodies. My body's location within Lenasia and the police station has a socio-political significance. This is evident in the visible lack of other white people in the area and the way in which the police officers react to my presence. The reactions of the police officers vary from scorn to veneration. Both the circulation of hate and love are essential for understanding the delineation of bodies of individuals and collective groups (Ahmed, 2004). When I am on my own, waiting for Lindokhule, I am notably treated differently from the other occupants of the room. When I am with Lindokhule, my racial identity is read in relation to hers. I am often positioned as "madam" and the participants as my domestic workers. There is more than just a geographical separation. There is also a disruption in body connection (Shefer & Ratele, 2011).

In order to accompany Lindokhule to the police stations, I must step out of officially sanctioned community-engaged work. This is perhaps a small act of reshaping the university space. The

process of accompaniment does not happen when it is most suitable for the institution but in the middle of another event in which I am required to have a presence. I perform a small act of resistance that is disruptive to the university agenda. However, this stepping out to accompany Lindokhule could also be viewed as 'rescuing'. Drawing on the Freirean perspective on doing research with marginalised communities, socially privileged individuals need to undergo extensive personal transformation should they decide to undertake progressive work alongside and with marginalised communities (Straubhaar, 2015). The white saviour complex stems from a lack of recognition of an individual's social privilege and the belief that white people are in the unique position to uplift, empower, edify and strengthen oppressed communities (Straubhaar, 2015).

Throughout my doctoral research process, I have thought about what it means to deploy my material resources and social capital to assist the participants without stepping into a 'rescuer' role. True ethnography would require that I journey with her via public transport. However, at the time, it felt as though it would be voyeuristic to accompany her via a mode of transport that has a weighty financial cost instead of drawing on my material resources to provide her with transport that has no cost to her. I need to ask: what am I doing when I accompanying people to different psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces? There is a tension between breaking from the distant, detached researcher who disrupts boundaries and denies the agency of participants through rescuing them. It is also important to interrogate the position from which the deploying social capital comes: does it come from a position of wanting to uplift, strengthen and empower? No. But as stated by Ahmed (2005): relations of power cannot simply be wished away by "good will". Liberation psychology also requires an action-orientated approach (Malherbe, 2018). The question is, then, what kind of action and how do we think about the impact and limit of the actions we may engage in? One way that I

have engaged in this process is by only taking the participants to various spaces when explicitly asked to do so.

After a workshop at Unisa - one of so many I cannot quite remember which - I drop off the participants in Thembelihle. The transport organised by the office failed to show up. As a research team, we begin the process of dropping the participants off at their homes. I follow a route that allows me to drive from one side of Thembelihle to the other, dropping each person at a different destination. On this day I took the Unisa branded car, locating me in Thembelihle within my position as a researcher. "Drop me right here, Sarah. I have someone to see before I go home," Anna tells me. The drop off point is just around the corner from Peemuk but still a fair distance from Anna's home. She is the last of the participants to get dropped off. *"Kutheni ugnona umfazi omhlophe?"* a man asks Anna as he walks past us. Anna sighs and shakes her head. "What did he say?" I ask. Anna pauses for a second, before replying. "He asks me why I am hugging a white woman."

This story, although one of many varied reactions to my presence in Thembelihle, locates my body within Thembelihle as a socio-politically inscribed site (see Alexander, 2000; Langellier, 1999; Soyini Madison, 1993; Park-Fuller, 2000; Spry, 2001). The act of taking a community member home is an everyday aspect of doing community-engaged work at the Unisa ISHS – we arrange transport to and from the various communities. This mundane story of going into a physical space and taking someone home is saturated with a politically heavy significance. The story is one that highlights gender and race relations within South Africa. Colonialism left a hierarchical legacy where men and women are racialised as 'inferior' and 'superior' (Lugones, 2008). Occupying a position as a white woman in relation to a black woman, I am racialised as 'superior'. This generates distrust, disgust and scorn from the black man who walks by, who

demonstrates an awareness of my symbolic presence within the community as an oppressor. In turn, my response of discomfort and shame to the man's scorn underpins my own affective understanding of my positionality. The act of hugging decreases a symbolic and physical distance between Anna and I. Although not without complexity and problematics, the gesture of friendship as a small, relational act of everyday resistance against broader social systems that rely on racial separation.

This is juxtaposed with many other encounters where I am sexualised and racialised in a particular way. In these cases, I am often asked to be someone's wife or to come and live with them. Becoming visible to scrutiny and fantasy within Thembelihle often prompted me to reflect on my positionality. As a white, queer women these interactions were affectively complex. Often, I would use humour to deflect these conversations or tell the participants I was not romantically interested in men. I did, however, feel uncomfortable. Romantic and sexual propositions by men generally are fairly routine commentaries I have experienced within many areas of my life, and I have learnt to manage them in various ways – predominantly humour, politeness or avoidance. I often experience an emptying out of affect in response.

Intersections of racism, gender and sexuality during apartheid are evident in memory and continue to play themselves out in present day interactions in current constructions and regulatory practices, as well as being re-inscribed in new ways (Shefer & Ratele, 2011). Identity is constructed in relation to others and the interactions come up against what others wish to make salient about the individual (Ratele, 2001). According to Ratele (2009a), apartheid resulted in the racial constitution of sexualities. What South Africans favour or fear sexually is still largely determined by the history of colonialism and apartheid. Indeed, there is

an “unconscious bow” towards race when thinking about how sexuality is constituted in South Africa (Ratele, 2009a).

The above stories demonstrate the complex ways in which gender, sexuality and race are enmeshed and enacted at different levels. For each of the people in the stories witnessing the interactions between myself and the participants, there is a fantasy of our position in relation to one another. These fantasies are embedded in historical memory. Here, I define historical memory as the affective, relational, embodied and spatial (re)enactment and remembering of history at an individual, community and societal level in (un)conscious ways. For the police officer who talks to Lindokhule and I, there is an imagining of us living together. At different times, the participants have been positioned as domestic workers, and me as a white madam. The participants often use laughter to dismiss these imaginings of our relations to one another. This acts as a subtle form of resistance. For myself, aware of the violent history embedded within the imagined relation, I felt uncomfortable and ashamed of this positioning.

For the police officers who see me on my own in the waiting room, where whiteness affords me “decency”, respectability and service that is not extended to the black occupants of the room. Finally, the men I encounter during my mobile interviews with the participants are doing a sexualisation of white femininity. Sexuality and sexual immorality are central to the construction of whiteness in South Africa (Ratele, 2009b). This affects how white people shape their intimate, interpersonal and public relations with each other and broader society. Experiences, both material and psychical constantly re-inscribe themselves (often masked) in the present, even if they are not always acknowledged, interrogated and addressed (Shefer & Ratele, 2011). These reactions act to reproduce a racialised and sexualised imagining of how the participants and I can relate to each other within different physical and social spaces. When

conducting psychosocial accompaniment, one needs to pay attention to the fine-grained ways in which we play out our interactions with one another and the broader community in which the work is located.

Social classification under conditions of racist violence permeates every aspect of social existence and affects the ways we relate to one another (Lugones, 2008, 2010). However, race and gender are not static. Rather, they represent a multiplicity of identifications that are (re)produced and transformed as social and historical circumstances shift (Walker, 2005), allowing for our ways of knowing about race and gender to be resisted and disrupted.

The story also illuminates a suspicion of the expert from the university within the community. The way in which my body takes up physical and social space within Thembelihle and the participant's lives shapes how I can interact and how I am seen to be. Although over the period of my PhD studies I have to greater and lesser extents developed an authentic relationship with the participants, our interactions remain tied to divisions of race, gender and class. My position as a researcher has implications for the ways in which the participants can and do relate to me. Along with all of this, these encounters point out the ways in which I cannot fully walk with the participants. This is an impossible ideal set out by psychosocial accompaniment that is riddled with complications and complexities. I remain to some extent within the boundaries of my skin and the branded car.

Stepping Out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role

After a lecture that formed part of the Unisa Compassionate Community and Conversation Lecture Series, on 17 April 2019, I was about to leave the office to get myself lunch. As usual, after doing community engaged work, I was tired, hungry and desired to have some time alone to reflect. I ran into Maseiso as I passed through the kitchen. "Hello!" I greeted as I rushed past. She sighed. "Hello Sarah." She looked unhappy. I hesitated, pausing in the door frame

while I readjusted my focus. “How are you, Maseiso?” I asked. A moment of silence passed and then she shook her head. “What is wrong?” I asked. “Ah, Sarah, I am not well,” and then said, “It would be better if I killed myself.” It took a moment for me to register what was happening. “Would you like me to take you to Nisaa [Nisaa Institute for Women’s Development]?” I ask, scrambling through the list of scripted ethical procedures. The Nisaa Institute for Women’s Development is a local organisation that offers counselling for women. Although there are other counselling services, such as the government clinics, these are often located very far away, or the waiting lists are years long. She pauses again, forcing me to slow down, and looks in the direction of the bus that has been hired to take the community members home. “I don’t know, Sarah. I don’t know if there’s time.” I waited for her to get some lunch and we went to my office to talk.

“I am so suffering. Things at home- they are not good. My sister, she is very angry. She is angry at me because I have no money. No job. Ah, I don’t know what to do. My sister, she told me to bring my *mokhukhu* to her yard. I look after myself. Sometimes, my daughter, she is hungry. He will go to my sister and ask for the food. My sister, she will yell at him. I know she is meaning to yell at me. Sarah, I want to work. I want to learn. I don’t- I don’t just want to come to Unisa and take the food. I must learn. I want to read and write, Sarah. My daughter, she looks after me when I have the fits. She looks after me. I want to be a woman and look after my daughter, as much as she looks after me. You see Sarah, one morning I didn’t wake up. My daughter, he went to my sister and tell her. But sometimes I think it would be better if I can kill myself.” I spend some time reflecting back to her - on that it is hard, she feels overwhelmed and unsupported by her family. “What do you want to learn?” I ask her. She emphatically replies, “Everything!” We speak until we get to a point where she feels more contained. When the bus leaves, I offer that she stays longer, and I drop her off at home when

she is ready. I am not sure she understood me. “I must go, Sarah. The bus, she is leaving. You Sarah. You will teach me to read and write. Then everything will be okay.”

I later debrief with one of my supervisors, Mohamed. He tells me that she needs to get into a counselling service that is free. He suggests I phone an emergency hotline to see what I should do. When I phone the emergency hotline, there is a patronising, older woman on the phone, who tells me that she should not be left alone and that she either needs to go into a casualty to be observed for 72-hours or needs to go see a psychologist, possibly a psychiatrist or her family doctor. The notion of a family doctor seems ridiculously distant from Maseiso’s context. At the beginning of the call, I emphasise that she is not employed, lives in Thembelihle, and that she has a four-year-old child who cannot be left on her own. Owing to the already tense relations within the household, leaving her daughter with her family may have more severe consequences. Later, she says, after I repeat that she needs to go to casualty, “Oh, but what will happen with her child?” I grumpily reply, “That’s the thing.” The free counselling services seem out of touch with the realities in South Africa. I also try to phone Nisaa and the Emthonjeni Centre at Wits. They do not pick up their phones. Maseiso’s distress stems from systems that exclude her. The 72-hour observation would remove her from being able to care for her daughter and would likely exacerbate Maseiso’s social exclusion.

The next day I tried to move the appointment earlier as my meeting at the Unisa ISHS ended early. When I called Maseiso’s phone, her sister picked up. I also phoned my other supervisor that morning to get advice about what to do. She tells me that because Maseiso’s psychosocial and material reality is not going to change soon, we need to focus on management: reality management and psychological management. She says a suicide risk assessment is a good idea. She asks me if she is depressed. I cannot say for certain, but because she often talks about how

she is suffering, I assume she is. Shahnaaz, my supervisor, talks me through the basics. We have attained she is depressed – but her functioning is not completely impaired. She is able to come to Unisa and gets relief from participating in the workshops and seeing me. Shahnaaz suggests that this engaged space may serve as an affective milieu to buffer against her depression. She also says I need to talk to her to see how much energy she has put into this: if she has suicidal ideation, if she walks out the door, will she harm herself?; has she attempted suicide before? If I am very worried, I must get services involved. She tells me to set up a no-harm contract and safety plan with her. If she does show increasing suicidal ideation and intent, she must phone me. She must check in with me periodically. I must also encourage her to reach out to a friend or family member when she is feeling low.

During my interactions with Maseiso, I remain without emotion. Instead, I attempt to keep busy and move with urgency forward to think through solutions. It is only later in the evening when I am on my own that feel overwhelmed with worry and sadness. Often during community-engaged work I have felt I needed to delay affective responses in order to remain within my imagined professional boundaries. Stepping out of these professional boundaries into emotion – even within solitary moments – allowed me to more fully affectively hold the participants in my consciousness. Specially, for Maseiso, I held the grief of witnessing her desire to end of her life.

Before I go to meet Maseiso, I find online worksheets for teaching the alphabet and print them to take with me. Some of the illustrations are far removed from the context in which we are located. I quickly draw ears on the dinosaur to turn it into a dog. Later, once I have more time, I modify the sheets so that they are contextually relevant. Finding free resources for adult literacy that is context-specific online is challenging. I arrive outside Maseiso's home, a little

early for our appointment. “You are too early!” Maseiso berates me. We speak for around two hours. She offers further context for her feelings of distress. “You see, my sister- one minute she’s nice and kind and good. And then she is yelling at me.” Although she had told me some of her history, she deepens and reflects on what brought her to this point. “I came to South Africa in 2001. I could not speak any English. I worked for a woman, here in Lens [Lenasia]. She taught me to speak English. One day the washing machine broke. I woke up [from a fit] and there was water everywhere. She tells me she wants R300 for damages. So, I left. I did not want her to hate me. I did not want to hate her.” She tells me: “When people say horrible things, it stays inside my head. I cannot sleep. I cannot eat. I get the fits because I keep everything inside. I have been keeping everything inside and this is the first time I have spoken about what is on the inside. I don’t tell anyone because they will laugh at me. You are the only person who I tell me, Maseiso, can’t read or write.” A friend of hers walks past and also tells me she cannot write. The collective solidarity, already discussed, offers Maseiso a kind of everyday resistance, in which she works towards small improvements in her life.

“I am very suffering Sarah. My life, she is hard. But God must be keeping me alive for a reason. Many people have died, but me, I’m still here. In the house, I am the man. I am the woman. I must to do everything my own self.” She says to me before we finish: “You hold me like my mother. You are not my daughter, not my mother, not my sister. You are not my family, but you choose to come to see me. Why? Because you see that Maseiso is not okay yesterday. You must not get tired and you must be patient with me. I will learn to stand on my own.” I tried to discuss with Maseiso her plans, using questions posed in a suicide risk assessment, but she would not talk about it - she just repeats the reasons why she thought it was an option. She concludes: “I am happy now because I can learn.” We went through a worksheet for learning to write from A to F. The victory of starting to learn to write seemed to have restored some

hope and some sense of dignity. “I am going to push myself this weekend and do my homework. Then on Tuesday, when you come, I may have a page perfect. Then I will be happy.”

Psychological and community symptoms of suffering memorialise historical violations, that is, community and individual suffering is embedded within sociocultural and historical contexts (Watkins, 2015). Focusing solely on Maseiso’s suicidality as something located within her fails to recognise the complex social, political and economic context in which she is located. That does not mean that we should not focus on the individuality of her experience and that her experience is not important. The affect of pain signifies histories that involve injuries to bodies (Ahmed, 2004). Accessing mental health services for her, as an indigent black Lesotho national without documentation, exposes her to additional structural violence.

Unfortunately, public mental health care, as a social system, often (re)produces and normalises exclusion, exploitation and marginalisation along divisions of race, gender, class, ethnicity and nationality (Lykes & Mersky, 2016). In the preamble of the Mental Health Care Act No. 17 of 2002, “[3] unfair discrimination against those with mental and other disabilities is prohibited, that those with mental disabilities require protection from the state, and the promotion of mental health services must result in the utmost wellbeing of those who use mental health services as well as the communities in which they reside”. A pertinent and recent South African example is the Life Esidimeni case, a highly publicised instance of human rights violation within the healthcare sector. During October 2015, the South African government terminated an outsourced contract with Life Esidimeni to save money. This actioned a policy on the deinstitutionalisation of psychiatric patients. Around 1300 patients were transferred into the care of NGOs, families and other hospitals, ultimately resulting in 143 people in psychiatric facilities dying due to starvation and neglect. This case demonstrates the lack of dignity, care

and respect people receive in public mental health facilities (see Dhai, 2017). Furthermore, those government clinics where psychological services are available are often overburdened and have extensive waiting lists.

In a brief moment, after Maseiso's disclosure, I considered numerous ways by which I could respond. I first offer assistance via available mental health pathways. Maseiso resists this. Psychosocial accompaniment requires 'letting go'. In the letting go of these ways of intervening, I am able to enter into a conversation where Maseiso can provide an emergent strategy. This also provides relational space for stepping out of the rescuer role. Prescriptive interventions, such as admission to a casualty ward for 72-hours, may have done more damage than assistance. Learning to read and write becomes an emergent strategy (see Watkins, 2015), proposed by Maseiso herself. This emergent strategy becomes a form of everyday resistance to conditions of violence and exclusion that culminate in feelings of suicidality. This ties into the process of letting go of interventionist approaches, as specified by psychosocial accompaniment (Watkins, 2015). The refusal to be detached involves a refusal to thoughtlessly pass Maseiso through the scripted processes. Maseiso resists counselling as a prescribed intervention by quietly declining to make an appointment with Nisaa. This interaction has called for me to (re)consider prescriptive interventions that are set out in Unisa's ethics application procedure. This does not discount the importance of putting into place referral services. Instead, it highlights the need to listen carefully to the emergent strategies posed by the participants themselves. Movement away from fixing and intervening requires a fundamental reorientation of the researcher's subjectivity.

Psychosocial accompaniment requires the accompanier to shed their position as an expert (Watkins, 2015). Located broadly within the discipline of psychology, my professional identity

and scope of practice is regulated by Unisa and the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). This particular set of interactions demonstrates the limitations of scope of practice and the training of researchers who work in contexts where access to services is severely constrained. Although, as my supervisor says after cautioning me not to overstep my boundaries, my "heart is in the right place", there are potentially serious professional consequences for transgressing these boundaries. The professional skin and its related expertise are not possible to fully shed. This process of stepping down from (or even overstepping) the professional role does not come without complications. Maseiso demonstrates this by positioning me as the person who will help her to read and write, and as the person to whom she can disclose her distress. Here, I am fixed within my expert role. Here, Maseiso also demonstrates agency through harassing my expert position to regain a sense of hope.

This story also involved my stepping out of emotional safety secured by my socially privileged position. As I hesitated in the doorway before making the decision to listen to Maseiso's story, I had to confront my avoidance of opening myself up to her suffering. I have, across the data collection process, experienced moments of struggling to show up for the participants, especially in relation to conflict. As I sat in my therapist's office after that first day, he asked me: "Can I show up even if the outcome, despite everything, is that she does commit suicide?" The process of psychosocial accompaniment has certainly opened up social spaces for love and vulnerability to be cultivated between Maseiso and myself – however, stepping out of emotional safety, especially for a young researcher, is daunting.

Demonstrated in the above story in the process of stepping out of safety to accompany others in processes of life, death, triumph and struggle for survival (Goizueta, 2009). Here, it is not a physical stepping out of safety, but rather a symbolic, mental and an emotional stepping out

and continued showing up. People who experience marginalisation demonstrate that although they are constrained by their material living circumstances, they can navigate the complex terrain of structural violence and that they have their own emergent strategies to cope with their pain.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this study are divided into three thematic foci. In the first theme, *Breaking bread*, I speak to a central tenet of psychosocial accompaniment, that is, being present. Breaking bread is a process of being present and developing an authentic relationship (Watkins, 2015). I illustrate this through the use of two stories where I am invited to share food and drink with the participants. The ordinariness of the interaction between the participants and myself invites me to think about the process of building relationships with communities and people within the context of unequal social relationships. Engaging with communities and people, under psychosocial accompaniment, requires extended engagement within everyday lives and a refusal to only require participants to account with their pain. Instead, psychosocial accompaniment opens up relational space for engaging with joy, innovation, boredom and that which is ordinary. This engagement happens within a structure of unequal power and privilege between researcher and participant. During the process of 'breaking bread' it is imperative that the researcher attends to the development of critical consciousness through monitoring and reflecting upon affective boundaries that act to differentiate bodies (Ahmed, 2005). As cautioned by Schlabach (2007), 'breaking of bread' may not lead to sustained transformation of social relations. Here, I also reflect on the research participants' refusal to participate. This refusal was not overt but a subtle reshaping of our dynamic. This was only one such example of the various and dynamic ways in which the participants and myself were engaged in conflict, disagreements and refusals.

The second theme, *Encountering difference*, focuses on the ways in which differences across race, class and gender unfold during the data collection process. The ways in which the participants and myself are able to occupy various spaces together is shaped by our socio-political identities. Bodies are socio-politically inscribed sites (see Alexander, 2000; Langellier, 1999; Soyini Madison, 1993; Park-Fuller, 2000; Spry, 2001). Even after the legislative end of apartheid, this analysis demonstrates that the ways in which bodies are seen as out of place is still embedded within racialised geographies. The presence of bodies that are out of place evoke affective responses from other bodies within the physical space. Love, hate, disgust and sexualisation bind and separate subjectivities along historicised gendered and racialised lines (Ahmed, 2004; Ratele, 2009a, 2009b). Historical understandings of race and gender continue to play themselves out in memory and impact the ways in which we can connect with one another (Shefer & Ratele, 2011). This theme also speaks to the process of going with participants and the white saviour complex. This theme invites a reflection on the ways in which we accompany participants and how we can inadvertently buy into harmful ways of engaging.

The final theme, *Stepping out of (or over-stepping) the expert role*, considers the tensions experienced by the researcher when shedding the expert role. This shedding and letting go of the expert position are central to the process of psychosocial accompaniment. However, demonstrated in the theme, is that the process of letting go and stepping down is fraught with complexities and trade-offs. In this theme I demonstrate that letting go opens up possibilities to be attentive to emergent strategies that may be far flung from prescribed interventions (Watkins, 2015). Following these emergent strategies is not without professional risk. This stepping down from (or overstepping) professional boundaries aligns with liberation the

psychology ideal of a rejecting universalising psychology and abandons disciplinary legitimacy in order to afford attention to marginalised communities' needs (Martín-Baró, 1994). In the process of psychosocial accompaniment is the recognition that psychological and community symptoms memorialise historical violations (Watkins, 2015). That sees a shift away from a sole focus on the individual to the collective (Starhawk, 1987; Watkins, 2015).

Conclusion

The construction of participatory methodologies, such as psychosocial accompaniment, as a complete salve or socio-political solution has been rendered problematic (see Bühler, 2002; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that participatory research is uncritically celebrated and there is a risk of maintaining power inequalities through masking how these tools perpetuate inequalities through rhetoric. Indeed, participatory processes are, themselves, located in power structures (Bühler, 2002). These methods do not always function as tools for liberation, nor do they necessarily redraw power lines. The utilisation of participatory methods needs to be conscious of language and how the participatory process both facilitates and impedes the goals of participation (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Researchers harnessing participatory methods may need to adopt a much more modest orientation to the claims of the work which leaves the work open to be critiqued. Christens and Speer (2006) call for a reflexive practice that opens up relational space for experimental habits that constantly reconstruct beliefs and ideas about research practice and participatory methods. The process of this research is perhaps not as emancipatory as the process of psychosocial accompaniment suggests. It has, however, opened up relational spaces for me to form habits that remain critical of the research process and attend to emergent complexities.

Psychosocial accompaniment is one such method that has perhaps been uncritically celebrated. Demonstrated in the above analysis are only some of the tensions that arise during such a process. The analysis talks about the limitations of walking with, the difficulty in shedding the expert role and the continued impact of racialised and gendered hierarchies on the interactions between researchers and participants. Having 'good will' is not sufficient when working alongside marginalised communities as relations of power do not merely dissipate with good intention (Ahmed, 2005).

Bühler (2002) suggests that we disrupt the dichotomy between 'local knowledge' and 'outsider expertise'. Although principles of psychosocial accompaniment require us to shed our expert positions, we cannot shed our skins, skills, knowledge, or positionality. Furthermore, to say whatever local people say is inherently meaningful is just as patronising as the opposite as it takes away from serious engagement (Bühler, 2002). To move towards listening only in processes of accompaniment limits dialogical engagement. However, moving towards a dialogical relationship – where we can argue, disagree and debate – within a context that is inherently unequal poses a challenge to equal discussion (Bühler, 2002).

Walking with or walking on the margins does not automatically equalise relations, nor does it create system redress. The act of walking with and being in dialogue is fraught with tensions, trade-offs, and complexities. This is apparent in the stories I have selected to use in this study. These stories are by no means exhaustive and only capture some of the complexities in doing this kind of research. This research has, to some extent, demonstrated the messiness inherent in how power dynamics are reproduced and resisted within the research space. Psychosocial accompaniment is fraught with tensions that need to be critically examined in the process of doing this kind of research. This study, perhaps, deepens our understanding of the ebbs and

flows of power, the dynamic and shifting imperatives of our research practice, and the need to theorise psychosocial accompaniment in practice.

The process of conducting this research has had an active role in shaping my personal politics. According to Ahmed (2014), research means being opened to being transformed by what we encounter. Encountering the participants has shaped the ways in which I will engage in and think about research for the entirety of my career and my politics beyond my career. My level of criticality and orientation to social justice has deepened in this process. I also found this study incredibly difficult to write-up as I have to greater (and lesser) extents opened myself up for scrutiny. This study only offers a few examples of the complexities of doing psychosocial accompaniment and certainly does not represent an extensive engagement with the process of doing this research. Instead, it reflects upon some of the core engagements that (re)shaped me. This study feels like a rupture of scientific objectivism and the rigid scientific principles of writing up research. The process of doing research with women who live in contexts governed by conditions of both direct and structural violence is emotionally demanding, upsetting, devastating, personal and invasive (Meth & Malaza, 2003). The act of receiving, reading and analysing the material is repeatedly upsetting, painful and worrying. I became a relational space where the participants unloaded experiences of violence. Writing about these accounts becomes an ongoing process of engagement that introduces paralysis, avoidance and discomfort (Meth & Melanza, 2003). Reducing the lives of the participants and my engagements with them to text feels entirely incomplete.

References

Adams, T. E., & Holman Jones, S. (2011). Telling stories: Reflexivity, queer theory, and autoethnography. *Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies*, *11*(2), 108-116.

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied Others in post-coloniality*. London, England: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. (2004a). Affective economies. *Social Text*, *79*(22), 117-139.

Ahmed, S. (2004b). Collective feelings: Or, the impressions left by others. *Theory, culture & society*, *21*(2), 25-42.

Ahmed, S. (2005). The skin of the community: Affect and boundary formation. In T. Chanter, & E. P. Ziarek (Eds.), *Revolt, affect, collectivity: The unstable boundaries of Kristeva's polis* (pp. 95-111). New York, NY, USA: State of New York University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2014). *Willful subjects.* London, UK: Duke University Press.

Alexander, B. K. (2000). Skin flint (or, The garbage man's kid): A generative autobiographical performance based on Tami Spry's Tattoo stories. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, *20*, 97-114.

Allen, K. R., & Piercy, F. P. (2005). Feminist autoethnography. *Research methods in family therapy*, *2*, 155-169.

Anderson, L. (2006). Analytic autoethnography. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, *35*(4), 373-395.

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., & Delamont, S. (2003). *Key themes in qualitative research: Continuities and changes*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.

Bell, D., Canham, H., Dutta, U., & Fernández, J.S. (2019). Retrospective autoethnographies: A call for decolonial imaginings for the new university. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *0*(0), 1-11.

Berg, U. D., Ramos-Zayas, A. Y., De Genova, N., Grimson, A., McElhinny, B., Nouvet, E., ... & Ramos-Zayas, A. (2015). Racializing affect: A theoretical proposition. *Current Anthropology*, *56*(5), 000-000.

Bühler, U. (2002). Participation 'with Justice and Dignity': Beyond 'the New Tyranny'. *Peace, conflict and development*, *1*, 1-16.

Burton, M., & Kagan, C. (2005). Liberation social psychology: learning from Latin America. *Journal of community & applied social psychology*, *15*(1), 63-78.

Christens, B., & Speer, P.W. (2006). Tyranny/Transformation: Power and Paradox in Participatory Development. *Forum: Qualitative Social Review, 7*(2), 1-10.

Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (eds.). (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An overview. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, *36*(4), 273-290.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In: N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd Ed.)* (pp. 733-768). New York, NY, USA: Sage Publications.

Dennis, M., & Moe-Lobeda, C. (1993). *St. Francis and the foolishness of God.* Maryknoll, NY, USA: Orbis Books.

Denzin, N.K. (2006). Analytic autoethnography, or déjà vu all over again. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(4), 419–28.

Dhai, A. (2017). The Life Esidimeni tragedy: Constitutional oath betrayed. *The South African Journal of Bioethics and Law, 10*(2), 40-41.

Dutta, U., Sonn, C. C., & Lykes, M. B. (2016). Situating and contesting structural violence in community-based research and action. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, *2*(2), 1-20.

Farmer, P. (2013). *To repair the world: Paul Farmer speaks to the next generation.* Berkeley, CA, USA: University of California Press.

Fanon, F. (2004). *The wretched of the earth.* New York, NY, USA: Grove Press.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York, NY, USA: Continuum.

Gingrich-Philbrook, C. (2005). Autoethnography's family values: Easy access to compulsory experiences. *Text and Performance Quarterly, 25*(4), 297–314.

Goizueta, R. S. (2009). *Christ our companion: Toward a theological aesthetics of liberation.* Maryknoll, NY, USA: Orbis Books.

Guerra, C. T. (2014). Personal resources and empowerment in a psychosocial accompaniment process. In *Psychosocial approaches to peace-building in Colombia* (pp. 75-87). Springer, Cham.

Hofmeister, U., & Navarro, S. (2017). A psychosocial approach in humanitarian forensic action: The Latin American perspective. *Forensic science international*, *280*, 35-43.

Jung Park, Y., Fedler, J. & Dangor, Z. (eds.) (2000). *Reclaiming women's spaces: New perspectives on violence against women and sheltering in South Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.

Kessi, S. (2011). Photovoice as a practice of re-presentation and social solidarity: Experiences from a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. *Papers on Social Representations*, *20*, 7.1-7.27.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Centre/ing decolonial feminist psychology in Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *48*(3), 299-309.

Kindel, L. A. (2016). *Psychosocial Accompaniment of Unaccompanied Central American Youth: A Collaborative Inquiry*. Pacifica Graduate Institute.

Kvale, S. (2006). Dominance through interviews and dialogues. *Qualitative inquiry*, *12*(3), 480-500.

Langellier, K. (1999). Personal narrative, performance, performativity: Two or three things I know for sure. *Text and Performance Quarterly, 19*, 125-144.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia, 25*(4), 742-759.

Lugones, M. (2008). The coloniality of gender. *Worlds and Knowledge Otherwise, Spring*, 1-17.

Lykes, M. B., & Mersky, M. (2006). Reparations and mental health: Psychosocial interventions towards healing, human agency, and rethreading social realities. In P. De Grieff (Ed.), *The handbook of reparations* (pp. 589-622). New York, NY, USA: Oxford University Press.

Macleod, C. (2004). South African psychology and 'relevance': Continuing challenges. *South African Journal of Psychology, 34*, 613–629.

Malherbe, N. (2018). Expanding conceptions of liberation: Holding Marxisms with liberation psychology. *Theory & Psychology, 28*(3), 340-357.

Martín-Baró, I. (1994). Writings for a liberation psychology. New York, NY, USA: Harvard University Press.

Meth, P., & Malaza, K. (2003). Violent research: The ethics and emotions of doing research with women in South Africa. *Ethics, Place and Environment, 6*(2), 145-159.

Montero, M. (2007). The political psychology of liberation: From politics to ethics and back. *Political Psychology*, *28*(5), 517-533.

Montero, M., & Sonn, C. C. (Eds.). (2009). *Psychology of liberation: Theory and applications*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Science & Business Media.

Nicholas, L. J., & Cooper, S. (1990). *Psychology & apartheid.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Vision Publications.

Nickerson, G. (2013). *Getting to the root of suffering: Cross-cultural dialogues with Tibetan refugee ex-political prisoners about the psychological and somatic sequelae of trauma.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pacifica Graduate Institute, Carpinteria, CA, USA.

Nunnery, S., Thomson, J. S. & Maretzki, A. N. (2001). Edible connections: A model to facilitate citizen dialogue and build community collaboration. *Journal of Extension, 39*(2), 1-6.

Orther, S. B. (1995). Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *37*(1), 173-193.

Park-Fuller, L. (2000). Performing absence: The staged personal narrative as testimony. *Text and Performance Quarterly, 20*, 20-42.

Patterson-Markowitz, R. A. (2018). Choreographies of Repair: Defining Justice through Psychosocial Accompaniment in Post-Conflict Guatemala.

Ratele, K. (2001). *The sexualisation of apartheid* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape).

Ratele, K. (2009a). Apartheid, anti-apartheid and post-apartheid sexualities. In M. Steyn and W. van Zyl, *The prize and the price: Shaping sexualities in South Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Ratele, K. (2009b). Sexuality as constitutive of whiteness in South Africa. *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 17*(3), 158-174.

Ratele, K., Malherbe, N., Cornell, S., Day, S., Helman, R., Makama, R., & Dlamini, S. (2020). Elaborations on (a) decolonising Africa (n)-centred feminist psychology. *Psychology in Society, 59*, 1-19.

Rodríguez, S. S., & Guerra, C. T. (2011). Psychosocial accompaniment of victims of political violence. *The encyclopaedia of peace psychology*.

Sacipa, S., Vidales, R., Galindo, L., & Tovar, C. (2007). Psychosocial accompaniment to liberate the suffering associated with the experience of forced displacement. *Universitas Psychologica*, *6*(3), 589-600.

Sacipa-Rodriguez, S., & Montero, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Psychosocial approaches to peace-building in Colombia*. Springer International Publishing.

Schlabach, G. W. (2004). Breaking Bread: Peace and War. In S. Hauerwas and S. Wells (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics* (pp. 360-374). Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Shefer, T., & Ratele, K. (2011). Racist sexualisation and sexualised racism in narratives on apartheid. *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society, 16*, 27-48.

Soyini Madison, D. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London, UK: Sage.

Spry, T. (2001). Performing autoethnography: An embodied methodological praxis. *Qualitative inquiry*, *7*(6), 706-732.

Straubhaar, R. (2015). The stark reality of the 'White Saviour' complex and the need for critical consciousness: A document analysis of the early journals of a Freirean educator. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *45*(3), 381-400.

Tuck, E. & Yang, K.W. (2014). R-Words: Refusing Research. In. D. Paris & M. T. Winn (Eds.), *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities* (pp. 223-247). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publications.

Villa Gómez, J. D., Londoño, N. M., Gallego, M., Arango, L. I., & Rosso Pér, M. (2016). Mutual support, affective leadership, and community rehabilitation. An experience of psychosocial accompaniment for the" rehabilitation" of victims of the armed conflict. *El Ágora USB*, *16*(2), 427-452.

Villarreal Sosa, L., Diaz, S., & Hernandez, R. (2019). Accompaniment in a Mexican immigrant community: Conceptualization and identification of biopsychosocial outcomes. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, *38*(1), 21-42.

Walker, M. (2005). Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: Narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *26*(1), 41-54.

Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*, *8*(2), 185-192.

Watkins, M. (2015). Psychosocial accompaniment. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *3*(1), 324-341.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I sought to analyse how women perform everyday resistance in relation to direct and structural violence at and between different sites - including the home, community, and state-controlled institutions, and examine the process of conducting this research, using a critical reflexive lens. Through situating my research in the theoretical and paradigmatic approaches of liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies, the study advances current conceptualisations of resistance, especially in an examination of how resistance is performed beyond state sanctioned spaces and in the production of the everyday.

The focus of my research on multiple areas of everyday resistance, including state-controlled institutions, constructions of home, and everyday resistance as relational practice within an invented social space, allows a layered - albeit partial - examination of everyday resistance. Moreover, I approached everyday resistance in ways that elucidate the multiplicity of identities, actions, and agencies that are performed outside of the victim/women/protected and aggressor/men/protector binary. This allowed for a nuanced look at the multiplicity of roles and spaces women occupy in doing everyday resistance (see Hudson, 2016; Ní Aoláin, 2012; Puechguirbal, 2012; Väyrynen, 2004). Accordingly, in my examination of everyday resistance by a group of marginalised women in contemporary South Africa, beyond the official scripts of publicly declared resistance - such as protests, demonstrations, and formally organised peace processes - this study layers our understanding of gender and resistance further.

In this Conclusion section, I make links between each of my four studies. I begin by offering a summary of each of the study's findings and connect them with the study's broader theoretical framework. Following this, I explicate the limitations of my research. I then reflect on the most pertinent contributions of the overall study, including theoretical and methodological

contributions to everyday resistance, power and violence within state-controlled institutions, and community-engaged praxis. Next, I elaborate on the implications of my research, and consider future directions for research. Finally, I offer some concluding thoughts.

Summary of Research Findings

Study I

Using queer phenomenology to analyse the data from mobile ethnography with a group of women from Thembelihle, I identified four thematic foci, namely *Whose Body Matters?*, *The Willful Body*, *Telling Stories about Bodies* and *Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting*. In the first theme, *Whose Body Matters?*, I focused on the lack of privacy, dignity and respect afforded to women accessing reproductive rights within public healthcare spaces. Accessing health care for the participants is embedded within social inequality. Indeed, inequalities around gender, race, socio-economic status, and geography continue to be (re)inscribed in South Africa's shift towards equitable access to healthcare (Deogaonkar, 2004). The participants experienced being situated by the nurses - where nurses are state actors - as being in the custodianship of their husbands or the state (the clinic standing in as proxy) around decisions regarding reproductive healthcare. Here, the healthcare system enacts a form of everyday violence that impacts upon the participants' bodily autonomy, their choices related to sexuality and reproduction, and other health outcomes (Sen & Govender, 2015). The participants drew on a number of repertoires of everyday resistance, including withdrawal, refusal, collective storytelling and (re)imagining public health spaces. Obtaining from Ahmed's (2014) concept of the "willful subject", the second theme, *The Willful Subject*, spoke to the participants' persistence in accessing state-controlled spaces despite obfuscated processes. The third theme, *Telling Stories about Bodies,* focused on how participants speak about their experiences of GBV and the resultant responses to the participants' experiences of GBV from state-controlled institutions. Here, collective

storytelling interrupts normative stock stories and illuminates the continuities of injustice and inequality within state-controlled spaces. This process of collective storytelling becomes a form of everyday resistance. The final theme, *Bodies that are Lost and Kept in Waiting*, spoke to how every day, mundane interactions with state-controlled institutions are governed by obscure processes, extended waiting times, delay strategies, and loss of patient files. Participants are required to persist and bear witness to themselves and others as a way of remedying institutional forgetting and disregarding.

Across each of the themes, it is apparent that state-controlled institutions mediate access to the rights guaranteed in the South African Constitution (McEwan, 2000), a document that (re)imagines South Africa (Gqola, 2015). The experiences of the participants in this study demonstrated that state-controlled institutions continue to (re)perpetrate inequality. The way in which participants are routinely kept in waiting, lost, violated, redacted, and abused within these anonymous public spaces during everyday interactions is reflective of their collective invisibility, as well and the enduring colonial violence within state-controlled institutions. However, participants do not passively accept the violence enacted by state-controlled institutions. Participants drew on various acts of everyday resistance, coping mechanisms, tactics of survival, and acts of reclamation. In this study, becoming a "willful subject" (Ahmed, 2014) represented a prominent form of everyday resistance and refusal by participants to be erased despite the everyday violence enacted upon them by state-controlled institutions.

Study II

Using interpretive phenomenology analysis to analyse the data from critical ethnography with a group of women from Thembelihle, I identified three thematic foci, namely *Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland*, *Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports*, and *Encountering*

Ancestors to Make Home. The first theme, named *Troubling Paternal Notions of Homeland*, focused on how experiences of home are tied to histories of land dispossession, requiring circular migration patterns between different homes. Although traditionally associated with paternal kinship, the participants disrupt this and relates the sense of home to her maternal connections. Everyday resistance also occurs in the maintaining of community connections, repairing familial fault lines, and troubling gendered notions of home. The second theme, *Bypassing Pass Laws and Passports*, considered how documentation (and the lack thereof) demarcates contours of belonging and home. Documentation allows for access to employment and education - both of which allow for participants to lay down roots in Thembelihle. Despite the impossibilities of obtaining documentation, the participants demonstrated everyday resistance through sustained showing up. Finally, the third theme, *Encountering Ancestors to Make Home*, spoke to the ways in which home was negotiated through holding on to cultural traditions, as well as movement backwards in time to encounter ancestors. The participants demonstrated that present time-space can be interrupted by the past and home is (re)constructed through the bending of temporality. Through the spatial and temporal reconfigurations of home, there are resultant reconfigurations of self through traditional cultural practices.

Each of these themes demonstrated that home has multiple dimensions - including spatial, temporal, material, diasporic, relational, and affective, which exist within the materiality of everyday life. The socio-historical context of colonialism and apartheid also have material consequences for the production of home in contemporary South Africa. Indeed, the conditions of direct and structural violence impact upon how home can be constituted. Everyday resistance, then, is a multidimensional concept that extends across the multiple dimensions of home. Participants drew on a variety of everyday resistance strategies, including material

survival strategies, cultural resistance, social and ideation resistance, persistence, and quiet encroachment.

Study III

Using interpretive phenomenology analysis to analyse the data from critical ethnography with a group of women from Thembelihle - with a specific focus on the Thembelihle Women's Forum - I identified three thematic foci, namely *(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity*, *Finding Space to Speak* and *Towards Collective Conscientisation*. Each of the themes highlighted that the Thembelihle Women's Forum acts as an invented space for resistance. The Forum members worked together to create a collective "we" through multiple encounters with one another, imbued in individual and collective histories, traumas, hopes and ordinary moments. The first theme, *(Il)literacy: Shame, Mistrust and Solidarity*, focused on the nexus between illiteracy and shame. This theme centres the socio-political function of shame, and focuses on persistence and acts of solidarity within the Thembelihle Women's Forum that undercut shame and exclusion. The second theme, *Finding Space to Speak*, talked to the complexities embedded within the participants' experiences of GBV. This theme further demonstrated the layered and intricate ways in which the participants' do everyday resistance within the space of the Forum, which includes de-ideologizing reality, taking collective responsibility about working through experiences brought into the group space and engaging in affective (re)imagining of relational spaces in which women can tell their stories. In the final theme, *Towards Collective Conscientisation*, I examined how the Thembelihle Women's Forum is a platform that allows the participants to work towards conscientisation to individual and collective struggle, and resistance. This theme demonstrated the non-linear, messy, and complex ways in which the participants grapple with the various social, psychological, and material barriers which fix GBV into place.

Each of these themes demonstrated that the process of repairing broader social ruptures that were wrought by colonialism and apartheid is embedded within small and often contradictory relational encounters. The participants utilised these encounters to restore the fabric of their social lives, although the participants' acts of everyday resistance did not necessarily affect larger system transformation. Furthermore, affect was embedded within and shaped each of these encounters.

Study IV

In the final Study, I offer an analytic reading of the research process with specific reference to psychosocial accompaniment as method (see Watkins, 2015). Drawing on autoethnographic data, the findings of this study are divided into three thematic foci, namely *Breaking Bread*, *Encountering Difference*, and *Stepping Out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role*. The first theme, *Breaking Bread*, spoke to a central tenet of psychosocial accompaniment – being present. Illustrated through two stories that centre on instances where I am invited to share food and drink with the participants, I reflected on the process of building relationships with people and communities within a context of unequal social relationships. The breaking of bread may not lead to sustained transformation of social relations. Considering this, I spoke to the importance of the researcher in continually developing critical consciousness through the monitoring of affective boundaries that act to differentiate bodies. In the second theme, *Encountering Difference*, I contemplated the ways in which difference across race, class and gender unfolded during the data collection process. Here, viewing my body as a socio-politically inscribed site, I examined how my body and the participants' bodies could occupy various physical and social spaces. I further spoke to how bodies that are out of place evoked affective responses from other bodies within the physical space, and how these affective

responses were intimately tied to racialised and historical geographies. In the final theme, *Stepping Out of (or Over-stepping) the Expert Role*, I considered the tensions, complexities and trade-offs embedded within shedding the expert role as required within the process of psychosocial accompaniment.

The above themes demonstrated that participatory methodologies, such as psychosocial accompaniment, need to be critically examined as these methods do not escape the power structures in which they are embedded. That is, researchers engaging with participatory methods need to adopt a much more modest orientation to the claims of their work. Emergent from the above themes are some of the tensions that arise during the process of psychosocial accompaniment. The analysis talks to the limitations of walking with, the difficulty in shedding the expert role, and the continued impact of racialised and gendered hierarchies on interactions between researchers and participants.

Summary: Critically Examining Acts of Everyday Resistance

When considered against my broader theoretical framework of my research (i.e., liberation psychology, feminist geopolitics and affective economies), the findings of these four studies present a complex analysis of the enactment of everyday resistance. Each of the studies demonstrated a number of strategies for everyday resistance, including becoming a "willful subject" (Ahmed, 2014), refusal and withdrawal, quiet encroachment, collective storytelling, affective reimagining, collective conscientisation, de-ideologizing reality, social solidarity, coping mechanisms, tactics of survival and acts of reclamation. It is clear that acts of everyday resistance are often complex, contradictory, and ambiguous. To greater and lesser extents, the participants act to extend the material, spatial, cognitive, and emotional spaces which they occupy.

Research Limitations

There were a number of limitations that cut across each of the four studies that need to be considered in the reading of my contributions. In this section, I do two things. First, I assume a critical stance in presenting my multiple learnings. Secondly, I encourage the reader to assume a nuanced reading of my four studies through alerting them to several factors that influenced the study journey and findings. I embed these limitations within the understanding that these considerations represent creative tensions that present as inherent to the kind of research that I have undertaken.

Much of the data collection process developed organically. While this generated rich data, the organic process also limited the study in several ways. The first is that the research focus of the data collection is dispersed over a wide variety of experiences spontaneously shared with me by the participants. For example, in Study I, I did not anticipate moving into state-controlled spaces with the participants. As such, the data are drawn from interactions across a number of physical and social spaces instead from a singular, in-depth focus on one or two state-controlled arenas. Furthermore, the participants have continued to engage with state-controlled structures beyond the data collection period. As such, my research findings present only a snapshot of the participants' engagement with and within these psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces. Prolonged engagement with women accessing state-controlled spaces is necessary to fully understand how everyday violence and everyday resistance is enacted. This is true for the other studies as well. The data that I collected represent partial stories that provide only limited understandings of the participants' experiences. However, this is not unusual for qualitative research. Participants are not passive holders of knowledge and the research process is a social interaction (Speer, 2002).

As my research findings are limited to a very specific group of women and only present a moment in time of their experience, they are obviously not empirically generalisable. However, Fine (2006) argues that generalisability is a vexing question within the social sciences, and advocates a view of generalisability that captures theory and action. In this respect, Fine (2006) offers two conceptualisations of generalisability: theoretical and provocative. Theoretical generalisability is the extent to which theoretical ideas travel across context. Provocative generalisability is the extent to which the research provokes its audience, across diverse contexts, to rethink and reimagine current world systems. Indeed, while my study does not offer empirical generalisability, I would argue that it offers theoretical and provocative generalisability.

At times, I struggled to balance the participants' voices with my analytic voice. In some places, I have relied more on the participants' voices rather than mediating their voices with my own (see Study III). Here, I was concerned about overly mediating their accounts with my analytic (and potentially imperialistic) voice and thereby detracting from, silencing or gratuitously intellectualising the participants' lived realities. As is evidenced by the data, the participants speak for themselves, offering insightful, nuanced and attentive readings of their social and material realities. However, in any research, and certainly for the purposes of a dissertation, analytic voice is necessary to interpret and locate the participants' narratives.

Due to the unstructured nature of ethnographic research, the conversations with the participants were predominantly guided by them and there was an ordinariness to the ways in which we engaged with one another. This resulted in rich data, but the analysis is partial, contingent and a single analysis out of many potential understandings. Due to the sheer volume of data that I collected through this research, it was impossible for me to accord equal justice to the multiple

conversations and observations that comprised my dataset. The most salient and analytically novel data were included for analysis. Resultantly, not all the data collected cohered with the identified themes. However, I may analyse and publish this excluded data in the future. It is also certain, as is not unusual in qualitative research, that my own interests and theoretical leanings may have influenced the focus of each of the studies and the themes that emerged.

While I continuously engage reflexively (on paper, with my peers and supervisors, and in the write-up of this dissertation), this does not mean that I escape the consequences of my social positioning in relation to the participants (Patai, 1994). I am not able to fluently speak any of the languages that the participants speak. While all of the participants could communicate with me in English, it is a second or third language for all of the participants. Degrees of ability to communicate in English varied between participants. This shaped my relationship with the participants, our ability to communicate with one another, and located our relationship firmly within linguistic hierarchies of power. This certainly shaped the nature of our conversations, what was shared with me, and how the story was told. I spend some time in Study IV reflecting on some of the ways in which social difference came into the research process. These are by no means exhaustive.

The nexus between colonialism and ethnography – which was historically used as a tool for the de-subjectification of people of the Global South - remains troublesome (Uddin, 2011). I drew on critical ethnography (see Soyini Madison, 2012) as a remedy to this, which aims to challenge the status quo, present a challenge to objectivity, and illuminate taken-for-granted assumptions in order to expose underlying inequalities. However, critical ethnography only provides a partial solution and is not entirely unproblematic. Ultimately, I benefit the most from the doctoral process in potentially acquiring my doctorate, advancing my career, and

gaining social standing. These benefits would not be possible without the stories and interactions with the participants, who are materially left in a similar position to when the research process began.

Over the duration of my fieldwork, the data collection process was interrupted by my movements between the Unisa ISHS Johannesburg and Cape Town offices, as well as my other work and home commitments. It is possible that these disruptions may have left temporal gaps in the data collected. The impact of these disruptions was openly discussed between the participants and me, supported by the facilitative relationship that had developed between us. Despite the interruptions, we were able to keep connected through messages via WhatsApp and telephone calls.

Contributions to Research on Everyday Resistance

Building on the theorisation of everyday resistance (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1985, 1990; Bayat, 1997; Scott, 1985; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013), my research offers some insights into the various ways in which marginalised women do everyday resistance. Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) state that everyday resistance has been under-theorised. Further complicating the study of everyday resistance is that these acts of resistance are quiet, dispersed, disguised, not politically articulated, and are seemingly invisible (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1989; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013), and there is a risk of labelling too many actions as resistance (e.g., Sabaratnam, 2013; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Drawing on Fine's (2006) conceptualisation of both theoretical and provocative generalisability, I consider how my study advances theorisations of everyday resistances. I elaborate below.

The Willful Body

Ahmed (2014) theorises about the "willful subject" who persists despite broader social, political, and economic systems that are bent on killing off marginalised subjects. Persistence, here, can be an act of disobedience (Ahmed, 2014). My doctoral research offers a contribution to the theorisation of everyday resistance in the linking of the conceptualisation of willful subjects with everyday resistance. Across Studies I to III, the participants often utilised persistence as a form of everyday resistance in the face of broader social, political, and economic processes that produce everyday violence.

Study I presents an image of the "willful subject" in relation to state-controlled spaces. The participants become "willful subjects" that continually show up to face state-sanctioned spaces that recurrently cause violence (Ahmed, 2014). Therefore, persistence becomes an act of disobedience (Ahmed, 2014), as well as a form of everyday resistance. The act of persistently showing up is a refusal to preserve the rhetoric that women routinely receive justice through legislation and state-controlled spaces. Their persistence, despite the obscure, ineffective, uncooperative and hostile processes that minimise women's trauma, forces state-controlled spaces to witness and account. However, the movement between the state-controlled spaces (i.e., the magistrate's court and SAPS) is emotionally, mentally, and financially exhausting. Study II illustrates how the participants become "willful subjects" in relation to the (re)creating of home within a context of land dispossession and migrant labour. The participants create alternative modes of citizenship through sustained showing up that bypasses the legislative landscape that determines how people can do citizenship within South Africa. These acts of everyday resistance refuse cognitive, emotional, and psychological erasure. Study III exemplifies how the participants act to become willful subjects through working towards fighting shame through collective acts of solidarity and small acts of expanding the social and

relational spaces in which they can move and live. The Thembelihle Women's Forum provides a social space for healing, collective action, and solidarity, working through trauma, and sharing survival mechanisms. This everyday resistance is not aimed at total system transformation. Participants persist despite continued and relentless exclusion rendered in and through violent social structures.

Acts of persistence operate to problematise and denaturalise everyday reality through an embodied critique of the dominant ways in which the state-controlled institutions enact the rights guaranteed by the South African Constitution. This refusal to withdraw, in some physical spaces, acts to continue to claim the material spaces in which the participants exist. Persistence in the face of violent systems acts to illuminate the ways in which power is enacted. As seen in Study I, the state acts to keep intact racialised and gendered hierarchies in social and health systems by failing to enact justice through bureaucratic processes that undermine women's trauma (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001; van Niekerk, 2015). This refusal to enact justice by state-controlled institutions is not always overt, but often functions subtly. The resultant failure of state-controlled spaces to protect women undermines safety and security, and results in revictimisation (Moyo et al., 2017). The participants' persistence, and difficulty of movement within and between state-controlled institutions demonstrate the type and extent of violence enacted by state-controlled institutions.

Quiet Encroachment

Studies II and III illuminate how quiet encroachment (Bayat, 1997, 2000) is utilised by participants to extend the physical and psychosocial spaces in which they can move and live. Although the theorisation of quiet encroachment, as offered by Bayat (1997, 2000) focuses on material and physical encroachment, my dissertation also considers mental, emotional and

cognitive encroachment. My research thus extends the conceptualisation through linking quiet encroachment with persistence and becoming a "willful body" (Ahmed, 2014). Through these acts of quiet encroachment, the participants act to expand the physical, mental, and psychological spaces that they can occupy.

In Study II, the participants do quiet encroachment to secure the roots and routes of their home(s). Citizenship in South Africa is demarcated through legal boundaries of IDs, passports, and visas. These documents regulate access to all aspects of social, economic and political life, such as education, employment, housing, movement and healthcare. Each of these documents define how much access a person has to these social, economic and political arenas. The participants demonstrate a steadfast and stubborn persistence to live, work and receive education within South Africa despite narrowing legal parameters. These activities, such as continuing to work and live in South Africa for the participants' whose home of origin is elsewhere on the continent, are unlawful and the participants run the risk of facing state suppression (Bayat, 1997, 2000). In many ways, state suppression is subtly enacted through the narrowing parameters of spaces to work and gain education which make setting down roots within South Africa fraught with unemployment and limited means of gaining an income.

In Study III, the participants engage in quiet encroachment in two ways. The first is through acts of continuing to learn, despite the shame surrounding adult learning and illiteracy. This act of quiet encroachment restores dignity and works towards securing a future focused on improvements in the material circumstances of the participants' life. It is apparent here how acts of persistence and becoming a "willful subject" (Ahmed, 2014) are needed to continually expand the material and social spaces that the participants occupy. The second way in which

participants do quiet encroachment is through the development of the invented resistance space of the Thembelihle Women's Forum as a space for solidarity, healing, and support.

Solidarity

In each of the studies, social and ideation resistance, which includes holding on to hope and creating ordinariness (Richter-Devroe, 2011), is an important form of everyday resistance. My research offers some insight into how solidarity functions as a form of everyday resistance. Broader systems of violence discipline marginalised subjects through shame (e.g., Ahmed, 2000, 2004a, 2004b; Bartlett, 2007). Shame operates to entrench social inequality through the depoliticising of social factors and individualises responsibility for oppression. Furthermore, shame operates horizontally across marginalised communities, who take up the function of shaming other communities in the struggle for power, resources, and recognition (Vigneswaran et al., 2017). That is, broader histories of oppression result in interpersonal battlegrounds within the everyday over small forms of symbolic, social and economic capital for social status and scarce resources (Barlett, 2007). Resultantly, racist violence is psychically internalised and (re)produced within social relations (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2017). However, shame is undercut by acts of solidarity, and finding joy, hope and ordinariness within everyday social relations. Acts of solidarity transform exclusionary spaces into inclusive ones. Movement towards the healing of shame and mistrust is facilitated through sustained showing up and acts of solidarity.

Study II offers a conceptualisation of everyday resistance as tied to repairing and maintaining community connections and repairing familial fault lines. This is done in several ways. For some participants, moving to South Africa - despite the threat of xenophobia, racism, and lack of employment - ensures the material survival of families that remain in their home countries (Bloch, 2010). For other participants, everyday resistance is done through holding on to cultural

traditions in order to make home. This may also include movement backwards to encounter ancestors to secure home within the present. Indeed, present time-space can be interrupted by the past through the bending of temporality. This form of everyday resistance disrupts hegemonic understandings of the world through rooting the participants within diverse cultural practices. These processes of moving back in time to encounter ancestors and traversing the South African landscape to perform traditional rituals in order to make home become a form of everyday resistance. This holding on to traditions and hope, and creating ordinariness within home spaces, despite continuations of violence that limit the ways in which marginalised women can make home within South Africa, becomes a form of everyday resistance that disrupts hegemonic understandings of home.

Study II also offers a conceptualisation of everyday resistance and the creation of home as embedded within the relational domain. Embedded in this everyday resistance is the relationships which the participants have with one another, their families, their friends, and their various communities. Marginalised women engage in a number of tactics to (re)create and contest spaces in which they can make home. Through their movements within and beyond Thembelihle, they forge new communities, such as the formation of the Thembelihle Women's Forum.

In Study III, the Thembelihle Women's Forum, as an invented space, becomes a social space which - in alignment with the principles of liberation psychology - does the work of nurturing critical consciousness as an emotional and cognitive process of developing awareness and understanding of social inequalities; and problematising and denaturalising everyday reality. The Thembelihle Women's Forum also becomes a relational space of solidarity for sharing joy, material survival strategies, and acts of resistance. Everyday resistance has an emotional

salience in the participants' lives. Although these resistances do not fully transform systems of violence, they are important as they provide a mode of psychological holding within the everyday. Women create these holding moments, embedded within moments of everyday resistance, both for themselves and between selves.

Everyday life brings the women into contact with systemic violence in their daily lives, such as GBV, worries around food and housing, lack of electricity, and unemployment. The perpetual state of structural violence results in a repeated site of trauma in their daily lives (Moleba, 2016). Structural violence, such as poverty and inequality, as well as direct violence renders the community as a violent space to inhabit. An important survival mechanism is mistrust. Mistrust moves between subjects to provide a safe distance within contexts of violence between the subject, others, and the community. Mistrust is an affect held by the entire Forum (and arguably also located in the broader South Africa) and is an important survival mechanism that is protective from further harm. However, in the case of my study, mistrust also created tension between the members of the Women's Forum. Nonetheless, acts of everyday resistance, through demonstrations of sustained showing up and solidarity act to repair social ruptures and mistrust.

Collective Storytelling

Stories, as mentioned in the Introduction of this dissertation, have the potential to disrupt hegemonic assumptions that produce normative stock stories, and to illuminate hierarchies of power and value embedded in these assumptions (Vincent, 2015). The telling of stories is a form of everyday resistance that allows for bearing witness to the narratives of others, and interrupts the "reproduction of injustice by making the normal strange" (Vincent, 2015, p. 27). The telling of stories as an act of everyday resistance is discussed in Study I and Study III.

In Study I, the participants tell stories - those which are personal and those that are distant - to engage each other about the nature of the state (see Vincent, 2015). These stories involve imaginations of better institutional spaces, such as a world in which public healthcare system respects women's privacy, dignity and humanity. However, these stories sometimes use externalising devices and offer a protective withdrawal from the painful realities facing marginalised women in South Africa. Stories also provide an important map of physical spaces that are (un)safe for women in Thembelihle, as well as in state-controlled institutions. The participants' stories are also used to do an affective reimagining of these state-controlled spaces as services that extends equality, privacy, respect and dignity. This process of information sharing through storytelling imagines a new material space into which marginalised women can extend. This imagining goes beyond merely movement 'up' into a middle-class reality, but perceives a public social and health care system that fulfils its mandate to provide a service that is humanising, provides dignity and privacy, ensures patients' bodily and psychological integrity, and safeguards equality. Furthermore, processes of collective storytelling sometimes offer stories of a mythological structure. These stories offer a parable of spaces, places and institutions that are (un)safe for women to occupy and engage with. The telling of these stories functions to keep other women safe, and also provides an affective distance that offers emotional safety to talk about the violence that women experience within the everyday.

In Study III, the Thembelihle Women's Forum uses collective storying telling to engage with the complexities of GBV. The group process of collective story telling allows for a movement towards de-ideologizing reality (Burton & Kagan, 2005; Montero, 2007), where the participants interrogate the multiple aspects of the lived experience of GBV. Through the social space of the Forum, the participants take collective responsibility for working through

experiences brought into the group space, linking individual and collective experiences, and working towards creating generative futures. Some of the participants engage in an affective reimaging of relational space where women can tell their stories (to other women) and the potential of broader social engagement within the community. That is, through the affective lens of anger and hopelessness (and the participants' withdrawal from state-controlled spaces) allows for the participants to reimagine the public health system as a system that affords dignity and equity to South Africa's communities who experience marginalisation. Study III offers an analysis of the telling of stories, including disrupted stories, stories that cannot be told, stories that cannot be held by others, and stories that are scary to tell. Additionally, stories sometimes cannot be immediately heard and taken up by the collective, as was evidenced in my research. Notwithstanding, connection between the participants was facilitated through the telling of their stories, which may be seen to act as a remedy to the mistrust caused by broader social fault lines. The telling of stories, as an act of everyday resistance, is not a linear process. The participants negotiate opening up, closing down, adhering to, and disrupting normative stock stories through acts of collective storytelling.

Ambiguities, Complexities and Tensions

Everyday resistance is fraught with complexities, tensions and ambiguities. Mamdani (1996) highlights the contradictory and complex nature of all resistance, and that transformation is tenuous and partial at best. The movement towards everyday resistance requires the participants to often occupy positions of both victims and perpetrators of patriarchy, as observed in Study III through the adoption and resistance of patriarchal scripts by the women in response to one another. Although the Thembelihle Women's Forum is set up as a site for the empowerment of women and girls, the Forum members also, on occasions, render harm through the reproduction of racist and patriarchal systems. These findings are embedded within broader

research that demonstrates that everyday resistance, especially of marginalised women, cannot be romanticised (see Abu-Lughod, 1990; Bayat, 1997, 2000; Hart, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Meth 2010; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013).

My research demonstrates some ways in which everyday resistance can be simultaneously resist and renew scripts of oppression and violence. Acts of everyday resistance can be both liberatory and subordinating, and it is thus imperative to both acknowledge and examine such contradictions (Meth, 2010). As evident in my research then, there needs to be a fuller engagement with gender and resistance, in ways that do not romanticise, demonise or fixate on suffering (Hart, 1991; Meth, 2010). In the viewing of everyday resistance in all of its complexities, we can integrate larger configurations of social, economic and political processes that shape the everyday realities and social relations of women (Hart, 1991). Those who occupy the most marginalised positions in societies should not have to bear the responsibility of being morality heroes, but need to be rendered complicated, ambiguous and human.

Contributions to Research on Power and Violence within State-controlled Institutions

Resistance, according to Foucault (1995), cannot exist without the presence of power, and provides insight into how power functions and how people operate within these structures. Therefore, my doctoral research reads resistance in relation to systems and structures of power (e.g., Abu-Lughod, 1989, 1990; Foucault, 1995; Hart, 1991).

Study I offers a conceptualisation of the shortfalls and failures to enact of legislation and rights by state-controlled institutions. Currently, state-controlled institutions are considered as largely ineffective, uncooperative and hostile, as well as minimising of women's trauma and experiences of GBV (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001; van Niekerk, 2015).

South Africa's Constitution is legislatively progressive. However, the enactment of the law is done without an orientation towards social justice. Instead, power is exercised through delay, unclear processes, the refusal of state officials to do their jobs, and silence. These factors demonstrate how state-controlled institutions, and its actors, are implicated in extending violence against women (Jung Park et al., 2000) through naturalising patriarchal violence (Marcus, 1994), and further marginalising vulnerable groups (Kessi, 2011; Tsirogianni & Andreouli, 2011). This study demonstrates how 'public space', such as state-controlled spaces, intrudes into 'private space' - that is, how a lack of transformation regarding gender equality at the level of the state acts to routinely (re)violate, forget, lose and silence women.

Through the everyday experiences of participants, this research demonstrates that state-controlled institutions do everyday violence through operating in an officious, legalistic and sterile way, and often cannot hold empathy and care for women such as the participants. As the system cannot hold empathy for the participants, in the case of my study, and is emotionally sterile and objectifying of the black, female body, it cannot hold emotional regard for women. Emotional regard is imperative to justice and is thus not merely an abstract ideal. Yet, we know too that violence and justice are experienced differently across various spatial and material conditions (van Niekerk, 2015). After all, as Ahmed (2004c) reminds us, bodies are inscribed within a system of value differentiation.

Contributions to Community-Engaged Praxis

Scholars have cautioned that participatory methodologies, such as psychosocial accompaniment, have often been uncritically celebrated, and power inequalities are maintained through the masking of how these tools perpetuate inequalities (see Bühler, 2002; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Participatory processes do not escape the power structures in which they are

located (Bühler, 2002). Study IV offers a critical review of psychosocial accompaniment as method. This study provides a small contribution to the limitations of psychosocial accompaniment and the impact of racialised and gendered hierarchies on interactions between researchers and participants. This study asserts that 'good will' is not sufficient when working alongside marginalised communities as relations of power do not merely dissipate with good intention (Ahmed, 2005). Community psychologists then need to engage in reflexive practice that opens up "experimental habits" (Christens & Speer, 2006, p. 2) where we continuously engage with and adapt our praxis.

Psychosocial accompaniment sets out particular ideals as central tenets, including being present, letting go, and shedding the expert role. The ordinariness of the interactions between the participants and myself invited me to reflect on building relationships with people and communities within contexts of unequal social relations. During the processes of being with, it was imperative for me to attend to the development of critical consciousness through monitoring and reflecting upon affective boundaries that act to differentiate bodies (Ahmed, 2005). While there is a level of authentic relationship that developed between the participants and me, the research relationship and research is not sufficient to lead to sustained transformation of social relations (Schlabach, 2007) so that the power relations between the participants and myself remained intact. One way to examine how these power dynamics continue to function within the research relationship is in exploring the subtle moments of refusal and withdrawal. These moments, when I did observe them, constituted a reshaping of our dynamic and the entire research process. For example, the participants refused the inclusion of a Photovoice component in the research, as had originally been agreed to by them.

Differences across race, class, and gender remain entrenched and unfold during the data collection process. Remaining attentive to how these unfold in situ is imperative for community-engaged practice. Examining the ways in which the socio-political identities of participants and myself shape the ways in which we can occupy various psychological, social, psychosocial, physical and emotional spaces assists in analysing how power inequalities function within the research relationship and how we are located in broader racialised geographies. This study demonstrated that the ways in which bodies are seen as being out of place remain embedded within racialised geographies. Bodies out of place evoke affective responses from other bodies. Indeed, the examination of affect - love, hate, disgust and sexualisation - can assist in the examination of how subjectivities are bound and separated along historicised gendered and racialised lines (Ahmed, 2004; Ratele, 2009a, 2009b). Reflexivity then is about analytically examining how power relationships are embedded within the research process (Pillow, 2003). Walking with or walking on the margins does not automatically equalise the relationship or create system redress.

Researchers who politically align themselves with people who experience marginalisation and communities, are typically located between two positions: middle-class researcher and activist scholar (Arcilla, 2019). These positions often require contradictory actions, behaviours and thoughts, which impact on the everyday engagement that we have with participants. Navigating such tensions, according to Arcilla (2019), thus necessitates an unlearning of academic and social privilege that extends beyond the mere learning of critical theory or shifting the research agenda. In the context of my own unlearnings, my research demonstrates that critical scholars can inadvertently buy-in to harmful ways of engaging with participants, through focusing on the white saviour complex. There is a tension between deploying material resources and social capital to assist participants and stepping into a ‘rescuer’ role. Indeed, academics hold both

more economic and symbolic resources (Arcilla, 2019). Psychosocial accompaniment requires stepping down from the detached researcher position. However, the ways in which we do deploy our multiple resources may impinge on participants' agency. Therefore, in considering liberation psychology's orientation to an action-orientated approach (Malherbe, 2018), we need to think about what kind of action should be undertaken in community-engaged work, by whom, and the impact and limits of these actions. Thus, continuous reflection, engagement, and critical assessment of engagements with participants are needed on the part of researchers, as was the case for me, to interrogate our social privilege and how it functions within each interaction.

Stepping out of the expert role is a central process to psychosocial accompaniment. However, as demonstrated in this study, this process is fraught with complexities and trade-offs. Being attentive to emergent strategies posed by the participants is not without professional risk (see Arcilla, 2019). For me, While this stepping down (or overstepping) of professional boundaries is aligned with the ideals of liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994), there is little guidance on how to do this within everyday encounters with participants, especially for young researchers. However, letting go is essential (albeit a partial and fraught process) to being attendant to the ways in which people who experience marginalisation demonstrate that although they are constrained by their material living circumstances, they can navigate the complex terrain of structural violence and have their own emergent strategies to cope with their marginalisation.

These reflections on the research process are no means exhaustive and represent only a partial picture of the complexities of doing participatory, community-engaged research. My research has certainly demonstrated some of the messiness inherent to how power dynamics are

reproduced and resisted during the research process. Furthermore, this study, perhaps, deepens our understandings of the flow of power, and the dynamic and shifting imperatives of our research practice. While this study is limited to psychosocial accompaniment, the findings could perhaps be extended to other community-engaged praxis.

Study Implications

In this section, I examine the most significant implications of my research for theorisation, policy, practice and teaching as they apply to everyday resistance, the transformation of state-controlled institutions, and community-engaged praxis.

Theorisation of everyday resistance needs to be contextually bound and located in broader systems of violence. As such, these theorisations need to consider everyday resistance as a multidimensional concept that encompasses a diverse array of strategies, survival and coping mechanisms that are inextricably bound to larger oppressive systems. When theorising about everyday resistance, researchers must consider the complexities, ambiguities, tensions and trade-offs embedded within resistance and refuse romanticising or demonising marginalised communities (see Abu-Lughod, 1990; Bayat, 1997, 2000; Hart, 1991; Mamdani, 1996; Meth 2010; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). The study of everyday resistance then needs to examine the simultaneous resistance and renewal of patriarchal and racist systems in order to generate a multidimensional understanding of everyday resistance.

It is evident from my dissertation, as well as other literature (Gopal & Chetty, 2006; Mathews & Abrahams, 2001; van Niekerk, 2015) that the state maintains and (re)produces racialised and gendered hierarchies within legal, social and health systems. As such, these bureaucratic and unwieldy state institutions often undermine the enactment South Africa's progressive

constitution. Considering this, systematic changes to state-controlled institutions need to not only consider reframing legalistic and policy documents, but also take into consideration how the constitution and legislations get enacted within the everyday. Transforming legal, social and health systems, then, needs to go beyond writing new policy documents or legislation, but critically examine the everyday processes of these institutions. The development of transformation strategies, then, needs to pay attention to the subtle ways in which people who experience marginalisation get lost, violated or silenced within these institutions and attend directly to these gaps. State-controlled institutions, indeed, need to consider strategies, such as ongoing (re)training state officials, simplify unclear processes, develop innovative methods and technologies (such as an electronic health database), as well as those that prioritise the dismantling of harmful gendered and racialised processes that further marginalise people accessing these state-controlled spaces.

State-controlled institutions need to be (re)imagined in collaboration with the most people who experience marginalisation within South Africa. As collective storytelling is mode of everyday resistance, the ways in which marginalised communities tell stories about state-controlled spaces is able to inform policy makers, researchers, and government on how to remodel these spaces. These modes of knowledge-making should not be limited to research, but also be embedded within official state processes that explicitly create spaces for, and are responsive to the contributions. For example, the participants in this study (re)imagine a healthcare system that upholds the constitution in providing a service that is humanising, provides dignity and privacy, ensures patients' bodily and psychological integrity, and safeguards equality. These acts of collective storytelling elucidate the failures of these systems within their everyday practice. Therefore, research, policy, teaching and practice need to be attendant to the everyday ways in which the current health system is failing to uphold these principles. Policy makers

need to then spend prolonged periods of time with marginalised communities accessing these state-controlled spaces in order to understand the impact of these spaces on individuals and communities, the current system failures, and how to attend to transforming these institutions.

This study demonstrates that the practice and teaching of community-engaged praxis needs to be accompanied by a continuous reflexive practice that opens up relational spaces for researchers to critique and adapt their praxis. Therefore, even when adopting critical and emancipatory approaches to our community-engaged praxis, it is imperative to adopt a modest orientation that interrogates our social privilege and how it is embedded within each of our interactions. Indeed, as even experienced researchers and practitioners may unintentionally collude with oppressive systems, they need to consider the kind of action that should be undertaken in community-engaged work, by whom, and the impact and limits of these actions. Furthermore, an implication for the teaching of community-engaged praxis is that more experienced researchers and practitioners should assist emerging cohorts in negotiating the flow of power, the complexity of community-engaged work, and shifting imperatives within their research practice through regular dialogue.

Directions for Future Research

In this section, I consider broad directions for future research considering my findings and the implications for my four studies. As I have mentioned, the subject matter of my doctoral research was dispersed as it organically arose from the research practice and process. As such, it may be of benefit for further research to focus instead on one or two subject areas, and examine those research areas more in-depth.

My first recommendation would be an in-depth examination of the subjective experiences of women and other marginalised groups accessing state-controlled institutions. We know that South African women continue to face extraordinary levels of GBV, especially along raced and classed lines and that South Africa is stated to have some of the highest sexual and physical IPV and non-partner sexual violence rates globally (Matzopoulos et al., 2019). We also know that despite South Africa having one of the most progressive constitutions, the literature demonstrates the enormous divide that exists between the country's gender legislation and women's lived experiences of extreme conditions of gender-based violence, economic inequality and structural violence, which bar them from full participation in social and economic arenas (see Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Sachs, 1990; Schreiner et al., 2004; Stewart, 2014). As such, future research should examine how our Constitutions and other legislative policies fail to be implemented through examining subjective experiences of accessing state-controlled institutions. These findings could potentially be mobilised towards transforming the ways in which justice is enacted.

Along a similar line, everyday violence enacted by state-controlled institutions is not limited to legislation and the criminal justice system. Healthcare systems in South Africa also enact everyday violence. People and communities who are socio-economically disadvantaged are barred from accessing equitable health care through various social dimensions, including gender, geographical, social and economic distance (Deogaonkar, 2004). Future research should examine how exclusions in the healthcare system happen within the everyday through studying the subjective experiences of healthcare users and healthcare workers. This may help in understanding what happens within the everyday that (re)produces socio-economic exclusions, as well how healthcare settings seek to repair broader power inequalities.

For me, the study of everyday resistance was often challenging because of the invisible, dispersed and disguised ways in which the participants did resistance (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Taking a more focused approach to the data collection process may create pathways for deeper understandings of everyday resistance within the South African context. Furthermore, my doctoral research focused only on state-controlled spaces, constructions of home, and interpersonal spaces. Future research would do well to expand the conceptualisation of everyday resistance beyond these spaces, looking at family, communities, employment and unemployment, and intrapersonal spaces, for example. Extending the examination of the domains in which everyday resistance is performed may add nuance to and expand the theoretical conceptualisation of the construct. Equally, other participatory methodologies, such as Photovoice, digital storytelling and body mapping, may represent valuable methodological platforms to deepen our understanding of everyday resistance.

Concluding Remarks

Within contemporary South Africa, marginalised women continue to face the triple burden of poverty, inequality and unemployment (Sachs, 1990; The Department of Women, 2015). This is further compounded by a legacy of race, class, and gender oppression (Schreiner et al., 2004). Indeed, marginalised women continue to be burdened by these legacies of oppression despite the various legal, social, economic and political safeguards that have been put in place (see Andrews, 2001; Gqola, 2015; Sachs, 1990; Schreiner et al., 2004; Stewart, 2014). In advancing conceptualisations of everyday resistance, my doctoral study demonstrates how marginalised women articulate their agency in various, albeit constrained, ways. The women who participated in my study make evident they are able perform everyday resistance in relation to direct and structural violence within the everyday, and at and between different sites, including the home, community and state-controlled institutions. Each of the studies demonstrates a

number of strategies for everyday resistance, including becoming a willful subject, refusal and withdrawal, quiet encroachment, collective storytelling, affective reimagining, collective conscientisation, de-ideologising reality, social solidarity, coping mechanisms, tactics of survival and acts of reclamation. My research also demonstrates the messiness that accompanies the (re)production of, and resistance to power dynamics during the research process. In this, my research points to the importance of continuously interrogating community-engaged praxis, as well the need to open up and engage reflexive spaces throughout the research process. This process not only allows for research to be guided by the participants themselves but is sensitive to the emancipatory ideals of liberation psychology work.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (1985). A community of secrets: The separate world of Bedouin women. *Signs, 10*(4), 637-657.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1990). The romance of resistance: Tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women. *American Ethnologist, 17*(1), 41-55.

Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied Others in post-coloniality*. London, England: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. (2004). Affective economies. *Social Text, 79*(22), 117-139.

Ahmed, S. (2005). The skin of the community: Affect and boundary formation. In T. Chanter, & E. P. Ziarek (Eds.), *Revolt, affect, collectivity: The unstable boundaries of Kristeva's polis* (pp. 95-111). New York, NY, USA: State of New York University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2014). *Willful subjects.* London, UK: Duke University Press.

Andrews, P. E. (2001). From gender apartheid to non-sexism: The pursuit of women's rights in South Africa. *North Carolina Journal of International Law and Commercial Regulation*, 26, 693.

Arcilla, C. (2019). Ethics and personal politics in the engaged ethnography of urban subalternity. *AghamTao Journal of Anthropology*, *27*(1), 57-87.

Bartlett, L. (2007). Literacy, speech and shame: the cultural politics of literacy and language in Brazil. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 20(5), 547-563.

Bayat, A. (1997). Cairo's poor: Dilemmas of survival and solidarity. *Middle East Report* (winter), 1-6.

Bayat, A. (2000). From 'dangerous classes' to 'quiet rebels': Politics of the urban subaltern in the Global South. *International Solidarity*, *15*(3), 533-557.

Bloch, A. (2010). The right to rights? Undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa. *Sociology*, *44*(2), 233-250.

Bühler, U. (2002). Participation ‘with Justice and Dignity’: Beyond ‘the New Tyranny’. *Peace, conflict and development*, *1*, 1-16.

Burton, M., & Kagan, C. (2005). Liberation social psychology: learning from Latin America. *Journal of community & applied social psychology*, *15*(1), 63-78.

Christens, B., & Speer, P.W. (2006). Tyranny/Transformation: Power and Paradox in Participatory Development. *Forum: Qualitative Social Review, 7*(2), 1-10.

Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (eds.). (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Fine, M. (2006). Bearing witness: Methods for researching oppression and resistance—A textbook for critical research. *Social Justice Research*, *19*(1), 83-108.

Deogaonkar, M. (2004). Socio-economic inequality and its effect on healthcare delivery in India: inequality and healthcare. *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, *11*.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Gopal, V. & Chetty, V. (2006). No women left behind: examining public perspectives on South African Police Services' handling of violence against South African women. *Alternation, 13*(2), 117-133.

Gqola, P. (2015). *Rape: A South African nightmare*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Media.

Hart, G. (1991). Engendering everyday resistance: Gender, patronage and production politics in rural Malaysia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *19*(1), 93-121.

Hudson, H. (2016). Decolonising gender and peacebuilding: Feminist frontiers and border thinking in Africa. *Peacebuilding, 4*(2), 194-209.

Jung Park, Y., Fedler, J., & Dangor, Z. (Eds.). (2000). *Reclaiming women's spaces: New perspectives on violence against women and sheltering in South Africa.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Nisaa Institute for Women's Development.

Kessi, S. (2011). Photovoice as a practice of re-presentation and social solidarity: Experiences from a youth empowerment project in Dar es Salaam and Soweto. *Papers on Social Representations, 20*, 7.1-7.27.

Kessi, S., & Boonzaier, F. (2017). Resistance and transformation in postcolonial contexts. In C. Howarth & E, Andreouli (Eds.), *The social psychology of everyday politics* (pp. 116-130). London, UK: Routledge.

Malherbe, N. (2018). Expanding conceptions of liberation: Holding Marxisms with liberation psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, *28*(3), 340-357.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizenship and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.

Marcus, I. (1994). Reframing "domestic violence": the terrorism in the home. In M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence* (pp. 11 – 35). London, UK: Routledge.

Martín-Baró, I. (1994). Writings for a liberation psychology. New York, NY, USA: Harvard University Press.

Mathews, S., & Abrahams, N. (2001). *Combining stories and numbers: An analysis of the impact of the Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998) on women*. The Gender Advocacy Programme & The Medical Research Council (Gender & Health Research Group).

Matzopoulos, R., Abrahams, N., Bowman, B., Shai, N., Prinsloo, M., Salau, S., ... & Gray, G. (2019). Utility of crime surveys for Sustainable Development Goals monitoring and

violence prevention using a public health approach. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, *109*(6), 382-386.

McEwan, C. (2000). Engendering citizenship: Gendered spaces of democracy in South Africa. *Political Geography, 19*, 627–651.

Meth, P. (2010). Unsettling insurgency: Reflections on women's insurgent practices in South Africa. *Planning Theory and Practice, 11*(2), 241-263.

Moleba, E. (2016). Marikana Youth: (re)telling stories of ourselves and our place (Masters dissertation). Retrieved from http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/22238/Marikana%20Youth%20-%20(re)telling%20stories%20of%20ourselves%20and%20our%20place.pdf?sequence=1.

Montero, M. (2007). The political psychology of liberation: From politics to ethics and back. *Political Psychology*, *28*(5), 517-533.

Moyo. N., Khonje, E., & Brobbey, M. (2017). *Violence against women in South Africa: A country in crisis*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Ní Aoláin, F. (2012). Advancing feminist positioning in the field of transitional justice. *International Journal of Transitional Justice, 6*(2), 205-228.

Patai, D. (1994). US academics and third world women: Is ethical research possible? In S. B. Gluck & D. Patai (Eds.), *Women's words: The feminist practice of oral history* (pp. 137–153). New York, NY: Routledge.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(2), 175-196.

Puechguirbal, N. (2012). The cost of ignoring gender in conflict and post-conflict situations: A feminist perspective. *Amsterdam Law Forum, 4*(1), 4-19.

Ratele, K. (2009a). Apartheid, anti-apartheid and post-apartheid sexualities. In M. Steyn and W. van Zyl, *The prize and the price: Shaping sexualities in South Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Ratele, K. (2009b). Sexuality as constitutive of whiteness in South Africa. *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 17*(3), 158-174.

Richter-Devroe, S. (2011). Palestinian women's everyday resistance: Between normality and normalisation. *Journal of Women's International Studies, 12*(2), 32-46.

Sabaratnam, M. (2013). Avatars of Eurocentrism in the critique of the liberal peace. *Security Dialogue, 44*(3), 259-278.

Sachs, A. (1990). Judges and gender: The constitutional rights of women in a post-apartheid South Africa. *Agenda, 6*(7), 1-11.

Schlabach, G. W. (2004). Breaking Bread: Peace and War. In S. Hauerwas and S. Wells (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics* (pp. 360-374). Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Schreiner, B., Mohapi, N., & Van Koppen, B. (2004). Washing away poverty: Water, democracy and gendered poverty eradication in South Africa. *Natural Resources Forum, 28*(3), 171-178.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts.* New Haven, CT: Yael University Press.

Sen, G., & Govender, V. (2015). Sexual and reproductive health and rights in changing health systems. *Global Public Health, 10*(2), 228-242.

Soyini Madison, D. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. London, UK: Sage.

Stewart, L. (2014). Rights discourse and practices, everyday violence and social protests: Who are counted as subject and whose lives are real in the neo-colonial South African nation state? *Law, Democracy, & Development, 18*, 1-21.

The Department of Women. (2015). *The status of women in the South African economy*. Pretoria, South Africa: Republic of South Africa.

Tsirogianni, S., & Andreouli, E. (2011). Beyond social cohesion: The role of 'fusion of horizons' in inter-group solidarities. *Papers on Social Representations, 20,* 5.1 – 5.25.

van Niekerk, T. J. (2015). Respectability, morality and reputation: Social representations of intimate partner violence against women in Cape Town (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Cape Town, South Africa, University of Cape Town.

Väyrynen, T. (2004). Gender and UN peace operations: The confines of modernity. International Peacekeeping, 11(1), 125-142.

Vigneswaran, D., Iveson, K., & Low, S. (2017). Problems, publicity, and public space: A resurgent debate. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(3), 496-502.

Vincent, L. (2015). 'Tell us a new story': A proposal for the transformatory potential of collective memory projects. In P. Tabensky, & S. Matthews (eds.), *Being at home: Race, institutional culture and transformation at South African higher education institutions* (pp. 21-44). Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: UKZN Press.

Vigneswaran, D., Iveson, K., & Low, S. (2017). Problems, publicity, and public space: A resurgent debate. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(3), 496-502.

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, A. (2013). Everyday resistance: Exploration of a concept and its theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine, 1*(1), 1-46.

Uddin, N. (2011). Decolonising ethnography in the field: An anthropological account. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *14*(6), 455-467.

Watkins, M. (2015). Psychosocial accompaniment. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *3*(1), 324-341.

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARENCE CERTIFICATE

UNISA university of south africa

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH STUDIES
REC-012714-039 (NHERC)

4 April 2018

Dear Sarah Day

Decision: Ethics Approval

HSHDC/848 /2018
Sarah Day
Student no: 5137-861-0
Supervisor: Prof M Mohamed
Qualification: PhD
Joint Supervisor: Prof S Suffla

Name: Sarah Day
Proposal: Women's performances of Decolonial peace
Qualification: DPMIT00- PhD

Thank you for the application for research ethics approval from the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies, for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted from 4 April 2018 to 4 April 2022.

The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies on7 February 2018.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*

2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Research Ethics Review Committee, Department of Health Studies. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*

RECEIVED
2018 -04- 16
Executive Dean
College of Human Sciences

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

4) *You are required to submit an annual report by 30 January of each year that the study is active. Reports should be submitted to the administrator, HSREC@unisa.ac.za. Should the reports not be forthcoming the ethical permission might be revoked until such time as the reports are presented.*

Note:
The reference numbers [top middle and right corner of this communiqué] should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication [e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the Research Ethics Committee: Department of Health Studies.

Kind regards,

pp

Prof JE Maritz
CHAIRPERSON
maritje@unisa.ac.za

Prof LV Monareng
ACTING ACADEMIC CHAIRPERSON
monarlv@unisa.ac.za

Prof A Phillips
DEAN COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: MOBILE ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethics clearance reference number: DMPIT00-PhD

<date>

Title of Research: Women's Everyday Resistance: Space, Affect and Healing
Study I: Mobile ethnography

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Sarah Day and I am doing research towards a PhD in Psychology at the University of South Africa (Unisa). My research is being supervised by Professor Mohamed Seedat, the Head of the Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS) at Unisa, and Professor Shahnaaz Suffla, a senior researcher at the South African Medical Research Council-University of South Africa Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit.

We are inviting you to participate in a study that is titled "Women's Everyday Resistance: Space, Affect and Healing". This study aims examine how manage power and violence at and between different sites, including the home, community, and the state.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

I am conducting this research to find out how women manage power and violence in different spaces in their communities, their homes and the state.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You have been chosen because you live in the community of Thembelihle and you identify as a woman. You may have been identified through the ongoing collaboration between the community of Thembelihle and the Unisa ISHS, in which case we would have gotten your contact details from previous events, research, from our community engagement officer, Mr. Royal Lekoba, or from previous contact I had with you in my capacity as a researcher at the ISHS. Between seven and ten women will be invited to participate in this study.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves a method called mobile ethnography or a go-along interview that involves a walk led by you through different the spaces in your community. The walk will be combined with an unstructured interview, asking you about these different spaces. The go-along interview will be audio recorded and you will be asked to take photographs of these spaces. The go-along interview can take anything from a few minutes (accompanying you on a short errand) to a full day (accompanying you on your daily routine). This will be entirely up to you as the participant so that you choose what feels more comfortable for you. On average, the go-along interview will be around 90 minutes. More than one go-along interview will be undertaken with each participant, also depending on what is convenient for you. A new consent form will be signed for each go-along interview.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

Participation in this study is voluntary and there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation. Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Furthermore, you are also allowed to refuse to answer any question or give as much or as little detail in answering as you would like. If you withdraw from the study, we will discard the data collected thus far. While I will be inviting you to participate in the other two studies, participation in one study does not require you to participate in the other studies.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no direct benefits from taking part in this study. However, it is hoped that this research will provide a space for your story to be heard and, in the long run, contribute to positive change for women in Thembelihle.

ARE THEIR ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

Due to the nature of this research process, you may share unresolved trauma or feel psychological distress from talking about it. Should you feel psychological discomfort or distress, or disclose unresolved trauma during any stage of the research process, I will stop the research interview and try to support you as best as I can. Should it arise that you need access to a psychological or other social support service, I will refer you to a free counselling service that is accessible to Thembelihle. You will be asked what kind of service and/or treatment you require and what kind of health practitioner you would prefer. I will make the necessary arrangements for you to access the service. This will be followed up with a meeting to check in with you about whether you have received sufficient assistance. If you need further assistance, I will assist with further follow-up.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from me and my two supervisors, will know about your involvement in this research. You will be given a false name and you will be referred to in this way in the data and my thesis.

Your unnamed data will also be used for other purposes, such as research reports, journal articles, book chapters, books and/or sharing information through the media. Some of the unnamed data will be used for publication in the public domain. While your unnamed data will be published, individual participants will not be identifiable in the report.

Because of the ISHS's relationship with the community of Thembelihle, my presence with you on this go-along interview may compromise your confidentiality. People who see us together may think that you are participating in research. However, the nature of the study will not be disclosed from my side and your responses will be unnamed.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Electronic copies of the data (transcripts, photographs, and audio recordings) will be stored on a password-protected computer. Only my supervisors and I will have access to these files. Should I print out any transcripts or photographs, these hard copies will be shredded once I have finished using them. Any hardcopies of your responses and your signed consent forms that are printed will be locked in a steel cabinet at the Unisa ISHS.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

There will be no payment or reward for participation in this study. However, any transportation related costs of participating in the study will be covered by the researcher or transportation will be arranged for you. If transportation is necessary, you will be required to sign an indemnity form. Furthermore, should the research take place at the office of the ISHS, drinks and a snack or lunch (depending on the length of our discussions) will be provided.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Health Studies at Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from me if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact me, Sarah Day, on 011 670 9614 or email daysk@unisa.ac.za. I will also be available to provide any further information about the research that you may require.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Professor Mohamed Seedat on 011 670 9606 or email seedma@unisa.ac.z or Professor Shahnaaz Suffla on 021 938 0896 or email shahnaaz.suffla@mrc.ac.za. If you have any ethical concerns, please contact the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee of the Department for Health Studies, Professor Jeanette Maritz, on 012 429 6338 or email maritje@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for considering participating in this study.

Sarah Day

APPENDIX C: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and possible inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a thesis, research reports, publications and/or presentations, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

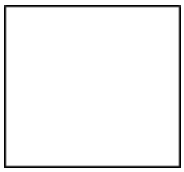
I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.



I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Witness	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that I give permission for the go-along interview to be audio recorded.

_____ _____ _____

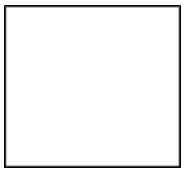
Name of Participant Date Signature

_____ _____ - _____

Researcher Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.



I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

_____ _____ _____

Name of Witness Date Signature

_____ _____ _____

Researcher Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethics clearance reference number: DMPIT00-PhD

<date>

Title of Research: Women's Everyday Resistance: Space, Affect and Healing
Study II: Ethnography

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Sarah Day and I am doing research towards a PhD in Psychology at the University of South Africa (Unisa). My research is being supervised by Professor Mohamed Seedat, the Head of the Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS) at Unisa, and Professor Shahnaaz Suffla, a senior researcher at the South African Medical Research Council-University of South Africa Violence, Injury and Peace Research Unit.

We are inviting you to participate in a study that is titled "Women's Everyday Resistance: Space, Affect and Healing". This study aims examine how manage power and violence at and between different sites, including the home, community, and the state.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

I am conducting this research to find out the way in which women manage power and violence in their homes and communities.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You have been chosen because you live in the community of Thembelihle and you identify as a woman. You may have been identified through the ongoing collaboration between the community of Thembelihle and the Unisa ISHS, in which case we would have gotten your contact details from previous events, research, from our community engagement officer, Mr. Royal Lekoba, or from previous contact I had with you in my capacity as a researcher at the ISHS. Between seven and ten women will be invited to participate in this study.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves a method called ethnography and involves me observing you, informal interviews and group dialogues. The method involves extended spending time with you in your home and community spaces. However, the group dialogues may also take place at the ISHS.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

Participation in this study is voluntary and there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation. Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Furthermore, you are also allowed to refuse to answer any question or give as much or as little detail in answering as you would like. If you withdraw from the study, we will discard the data collected thus far. While I will be inviting you to participate in the other two studies, participation in one study does not require you to participate in the other studies.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no direct benefits from taking part in this study. However, it is hoped that this research will provide a space for your story to be heard and, in the long run, contribute to positive change for women in Thembelihle.

ARE THEIR ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

Due to the nature of this research process, you may share unresolved trauma or feel psychological distress from talking about it. Should you feel psychological discomfort or distress, or disclose unresolved trauma during any stage of the research process, I will stop the research interview and try to support you as best as I can. Should it arise that you need access to a psychological or other social support service, I will refer you to a free counselling service that is accessible to Thembelihle. You will be asked what kind of service and/or treatment you require and what kind of health practitioner you would prefer. I will make the necessary arrangements for you to access the service. This will be followed up with a meeting to check in with you about whether you have received sufficient assistance. If you need further assistance, I will assist with further follow-up.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from me and my two supervisors, will know about your involvement in this research. You will be given a false name and you will be referred to in this way in the data and my thesis.

While every effort will be made by the researcher to ensure that you will not be connected to the information that you share during the group dialogues, I cannot guarantee that other participants in the group dialogue will treat information confidentially. I shall, however, encourage all participants to do so. For this reason, I advise you not to disclose personally sensitive information in the group dialogue. Furthermore, I encourage you to treat any information you hear from the other participants as confidential.

Your unnamed data will also be used for other purposes, such as research reports, journal articles, book chapters, books and/or sharing information through the media. Some of the unnamed data will be used for publication in the public domain. While your unnamed data will be published, individual participants will not be identifiable in the report.

Because of the ISHS's relationship with the community of Thembelihle, my presence with you on this go-along interview may compromise your confidentiality. People who see us together may think that you are participating in research. However, the nature of the study will not be disclosed from my side and your responses will be unnamed.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Electronic copies of the data (transcripts, photographs, and audio recordings) will be stored on a password-protected computer. Only my supervisors and I will have access to these files. Should I print out any transcripts or photographs, these hard copies will be shredded once I have finished using them. Any hardcopies of your responses and your signed consent forms that are printed will be locked in a steel cabinet at the Unisa ISHS.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

There will be no payment or reward for participation in this study. However, any transportation related costs of participating in the study will be covered by the researcher or transportation

will be arranged for you. If transportation is necessary, you will be required to sign an indemnity form. Furthermore, should the research take place at the office of the ISHS, drinks and a snack or lunch (depending on the length of our discussions) will be provided.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Health Studies at Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from me if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact me, Sarah Day, on 011 670 9614 or email daysk@unisa.ac.za. I will also be available to provide any further information about the research that you may require.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Professor Mohamed Seedat on 011 670 9606 or email seedma@unisa.ac.z or Professor Shahnaaz Suffla on 021 938 0896 or email shahnaaz.suffla@mrc.ac.za. If you have any ethical concerns, please contact the Chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee of the Department for Health Studies, Professor Jeanette Maritz, on 012 429 6338 or email maritje@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for considering participating in this study.

Sarah Day

APPENDIX E: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or presentations, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

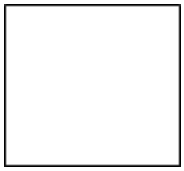
I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.



I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Witness	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING

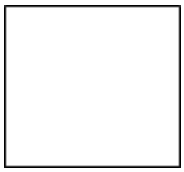
I, _____ participant name), confirm that I give permission for our interactions, through conversations, to be audio recorded.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If participants cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The participant will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.



I was present when information about the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the participant has agreed to take part in the research.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Witness	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

APPENDIX F: INDEMNITY AGREEMENT

Indemnity Agreement, between Sarah Day (name of the Indemnifying Party) and _____ (name of the Indemnitee).

By signing this form, it is agreed upon that the Indemnifying Party is not responsible for any action, liability, loss, costs, charges, damage or suit on the part of the Indemnitee in connection with transportation provided.

This agreement shall be binding to all parties and their representatives.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Indemnitee	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Name of Indemnifying Party	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

If Indemnitees cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign below. The Indemnitee will make a thumbprint or mark in the box below.

I was present when indemnity was explained to the above individual. All questions were answered and the Indemnitee has agreed to that stipulated in the above indemnity form.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Witness	Date	Signature

_____	_____	_____
Name of Indemnifying Party	Date	Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)